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THE INTERNATIONALIST

FORMERLY THE WESTERN COMRADE

May, 1918

Price 10 Cents

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By Kiang Kang Hu

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—A Debate by Alfred A. Sessions and
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By Creston Clark Coigne

The Story of American Socialism

By Lincoln Phifer

Your Gateway to Freedom

LLANO'S 16,000 ACRE PLANTATION IN THE HIGHLANDS OF WESTERN LOUISIANA

THE Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony was established at Llano, Los Angeles County, California, in May, 1914. It attracted attention throughout the country because of the calibre of the men who were conducting it. Hundreds joined the colony and during the three years hundreds of acres of orchards and alfalfa were planted, a community garden was grown, and many industries were established. From the first, the intention was to form other colonies, extending the work as rapidly as possible. The first extension has been organized.

16,000 FERTILE ACRES

After a nation-wide search, it was finally decided to purchase 16,000 acres in the healthful highlands of Vernon Parish in Western Louisiana, at Stables, one mile from Leesville, the parish seat of Vernon Parish. This is about 15 miles from the Sabine river, about 40 miles from the Red river, (both navigable), forty miles from Alexandria, 100 miles from Shreveport, and about 200 miles from New Orleans. The highlands of this district are fertile, high, well-drained, healthful. There are no swamps, no malaria, no mosquitoes, no fevers more than are found in other states. Health reports show that this portion of Louisiana can compare favorably with any other section of the United States. There is an abundance of drinking water of excellent quality.

A most careful investigation was made regarding health conditions. Reports compiled by the Health Department of Louisiana were studied. Inhabitants of this district were interviewed. All agreed on the healthfulness of this portion of the State, and those who have heard discouraging reports from Louisiana are invited to make further and more careful investigation before arriving at conclusions.

The huge tract lies southwest of Leesville and has had most of the timber cut off. Remaining along the creeks, however, are scattered pines of the long leaf variety to supply the Colony with building material for many years to come. About 1200 acres of hardwood timber worth many thousands of dollars are also on the land and offer opportunities for the establishing of many industries. The timber is, beech, magnolia, white oak, cypress, walnut, post oak, red oak, sweet gum, and hickory. The trees are splendid ones, and this body of timber is not to be surpassed in quality.

A TOWN CAME WITH IT

When the purchase was first contemplated, and it was finally decided to buy the 16,000 acres near Leesville, it was found that the lumber hamlet of Stables stood on the property. This was acquired with the land. A hotel of 18 rooms, 27 habitable houses, 100 other small houses, one shed 130x300 feet, one shed 130x200 feet, one shed 80x100 feet, one store 30x90, one office 40x50, eight other sheds and structures. The lumber in these buildings, together with other lumber on the place, amounts to about 2 million feet. Ties for a railroad extend across the land. A concrete power house and 5 concrete drying kilns (cost to erect them, \$12,000) each kiln about 20x70 by 20 feet high, are also included. Stables is on the main line of the Kansas City Southern Railroad. This town will be occupied for a while, but later a more systematically laid out town will be built.

WHAT CAN BE PRODUCED ?

This is the first question asked. A careful investigation has been made. No chances of mistake were taken. It is found that a great variety of products do well here. Peanuts, sweet potatoes, melons, of all kinds, corn, cotton, and sugar cane, will be the best producers and the best income-bringers. Vegetables of all kinds do well, and berries will yield great returns. This region is not sufficiently well developed for fruit to make detailed statements possible, but from a number of sources of undoubted reliability, assurance is given that figs, peaches, prunes, cherries, and similar fruits can be profitably grown. Cattle and sheep and goats can find forage during nearly the entire year, while the raising of hogs is profitable because of the abundance of corn that may be grown here.

PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT

Farming comes first. The Colony thoroughly realizes the responsibilities and the necessities put upon it. Efficiency is insisted on, and once each week foremen are required to attend efficiency classes. The remaining workers are also given instruction. Records are kept showing use of time, achievement, results, costs. There is a systematic and orderly organization being perfected. Land is being cleared and plowed as rapidly as possible. With a complete understanding of the needs

of agricultural production, every available man is put on the farm. This work takes precedence over all else. Every avenue of waste is being closed as fast as discovered. Elimination of useless work and reduction of only partly necessary tasks is insisted on. The aim of the Colony is not only to support itself the very first year, but to have an ample margin left over. This will take careful and systematic planning. Through this care and foresight, the new Colony will be able to take care of all of its residents, including increase. Housing is simplified by the number of houses acquired with the property.

COLONY INDUSTRIES

The establishment of industries goes forward as rapidly as this can be achieved. These are at present secondary to food production. Land must be cleared, plowed, fenced, tilled. Later industries will be given attention. At present the hotel, dairy, printing department, livestock, etc., are the industries. Some machinery is on the ground which has not been set up and will not be until circumstances justify.

HOW TO BECOME A MEMBER

The price of a membership in the Llano Colony has been set at \$2000. A change in the rate of initial payments, operative on and after May 1st, 1918, is based on the number of persons in the family and their ages, the minimum payment being \$1000, and ranging to \$2000. Other changes are contemplated. In order to become a member, it is necessary to fill out an Application for Membership form which is passed upon. The incoming member, when he becomes a resident, occupies a colony house, is paid on the same scale as all other members of the colony, and under the present arrangement, works out one share of stock a day until the entire membership has been worked out. Employment is given all members of the family. All applicants for membership are required to give reputable references. Those wishing to take out membership are requested to write to the Membership Department direct for full information and to take out memberships through it. No Agents Are Authorized to Make Contracts or to Accept Money... Mere ownership of stock does not give the right of membership.

There is also the Instalment Member plan by which those who cannot make payments in full at once may take out a membership on which they may pay \$10 or more each month. Those interested in this plan are invited to write specially concerning it.

WHEN YOU VISIT US

remember that Stables is on the Kansas City Southern Railroad, which runs due South from Kansas City to Port Arthur, and we are about one mile from Leesville, in Vernon Parish, midway of the State, and in the extreme western part.

AGENTS WANTED

Trustworthy agents are desired in different communities, and those who can furnish first-rate references are invited to correspond with the Membership Department concerning becoming our representative.

LAND FOR SALE

Many have inquired about buying land. The Llano Land Bureau will offer land close to the Colony for sale at reasonable prices and on reasonable terms.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

More detailed information is given in the "Gateway to Freedom" which outlines the idea of co-operative colonization, the reasons for it, and what is hoped may be achieved, together with the methods to be used. The folder "Llano's Plantation in the Highlands of Louisiana" goes into more detail concerning the new 16,000 acre tract.

The new colony in Louisiana can support a population of perhaps several thousand persons. It offers wonderful opportunities to all who join. You are invited to write to the Membership Department for full information about any point not made clear, and answers to questions you ask. Address

Membership Department

LLANO DEL RIO COLONY
Stables, Louisiana

Political Action

Co-operation

Socialism

"The Most Constructive Magazine for Socialism in America."

THE INTERNATIONALIST

Formerly "THE WESTERN COMRADE"

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JOB HARRIMAN.....Managing Editor ALANSON SESSIONS.....Associate Editor ERNEST S. WOOSTER....Business Manager

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Vol. VI

LEESVILLE, LA., MAY, 1918.

No. 1

EDITORIAL

By Job Harriman

THE INTERNATIONALIST appears at a most opportune time, not only in its history, but in the history of the world.

Its former name "The Western Comrade" was used when it was in California and limited to substantially that locality. But now that it has moved to the South where it is in easy touch with all the world as well as with our own country, it must occupy a larger field, and, at least in some degree, respond to the new internationalism that is springing out of this war.

As its new field of work opens it will endeavor to portray the reasons why the whole fabric of our capitalist civilization is dissolving, and will endeavor to assist in its feeble way in blazing the course out of the jungle into which we have been plunged and onto a higher plane of life.

The walls that capitalism has built around the countries are crumbling and we shall soon be bounding over them and mingling with other peoples in spirit and in life.

With this world war has come excruciating pain, but it is a birth-pain.

The world is being born again,—born into new thought, world patriotism, world spirit, world brotherhood.

The national lines and feuds are passing. The national characters will soon be a thing of the past. The International will be the standard.

And we shall endeavor to make THE INTERNATIONALIST a worthy spokesman.

ROBBING a man of hope is like robbing an egg of meat—it leaves only a shell.

GREED

GREED will dig its own grave. No power can save it from the tomb. Its urge is always toward death. Like a cancer, it eats the heart in which it dwells. It petrifies the brain that bids it welcome. It makes an outcast of all who drink its elixir. Ambition and tyranny are its partners, and capitalism is its all-consuming fire.

Observe the trenches.

LOVE

LOVE builds its own throne. No power can crush or dislodge it. Its magic touch gives life and joy. It is a fountain of perpetual happiness in every heart in which it dwells. It inspires and illuminates the brain that bids it welcome. It makes a god of all who drink its elixir. Hope and charity are its partners, and brotherhood is its all-absorbing aim.

Observe the pacifist.

CAPITALIST papers and magazines are charging the Bolsheviki with all the crimes on the calendar.

The North American Review says, "they are a group of despotic leaders who are grasping at autocratic power by inflaming the cupidity of the lowest class to murderous violence."

Is there not at least something suggestive of "murderous violence" along the trenches?

Did the Bolsheviki or the Socialists inflame or incite the governing classes to these deeds?

"Great wealth," they go on to say in defense of capitalism, "is the fruit of extraordinary gifts of insight

and energy." And, they might truthfully say, crimes.

Great wealth represents so much human energy or power extracted from the individual lives of the nation. Whoever extracts it without rendering an equivalent commits a social crime. Whoever will commit a crime to gain power will commit a crime to hold it.

This world war is a diabolical crime to hold fast to ill-gotten power and capitalism is responsible for it.

There is one dastardly difference between a buzzard and capitalism: a buzzard will devour its dead, but capitalism will devour the living and the dead.

—o—

LESE MAJESTY is now the law in Texas. This law was passed as a sort of fly trap for I. W. W. speakers.

If the theory of the law is correct, it should be applied against the freedom of the press as well as against freedom of speech.

Such an application would catch an extraordinary variety of criminals.

Some bright spring morning would disclose in chains Roosevelt and the editor of the Kansas City Star, the editor of the North American Review and a host of others who are guilty of violent criticism of both the government and the President.

There is a difference, however, between the I. W. W. criticism and that of Roosevelt and the Review.

The one represents a multitude of suffering human beings calling for bread and justice, while the other is a carping, hypocritical campaign for the gratification of political ambitions.

The one is punished and the other goes free.

The one is weak and the other is powerful.

The one is treated with contempt, the other with respect for the same act.

Justice! Thy name is "farce"!

—o—

THE CENTRAL POWERS have always held the fundamental advantage in the war.

They lie between and divide their enemies.

At first this was considered a weakness because they could be attacked from all sides; but it proved to be an advantage.

The trenches in every direction lie close to the seat of supplies.

Every need could be reached within marching distance.

The agricultural, industrial and military resources are in touch with the field of battle.

The population is dense and quickly available.

All industrial lines were highly organized and agriculture is reduced to intensive cultivation.

Transportation is of such minor importance that it is scarcely a problem.

All the elements of efficiency is present. They require a minimum man power for transportation and production, leaving a maximum man power for military demands.

The military efficiency of a nation is measured by its ability to concentrate a maximum number of men and a maximum quantity of equipment, easily and quickly.

Within a few weeks two million men with food and equipment were transferred from the eastern to the western front, in full preparation for battle. Seven millions more are trained and ready to be drawn, and are within marching distance of the trenches.

The reverse is true of the Allies.

The Allies and their colonies are scattered throughout the world. Though their power is enormous, their inability to concentrate that power places them at a tremendous disadvantage.

No more glaring instance of this fact can be cited than that of the United States.

Her transportation problems west of the Mississippi alone are far more difficult and perplexing than are all the transportation problems of the Central Powers.

Add to this the transportation of troops and equipment east of the Mississippi.

Again, add the transportation of food and military supplies over a vast territory where intensive agriculture is scarcely known.

Again, add the necessity of building sufficient ships to transport these troops and equipment 3000 miles; and then add the necessity of transporting them through dangerous seas swarming with submarines, and you have a picture of unavoidable obstacles which demands a maximum number of men for purposes of preparation leaving only a minimum number for military purposes.

The same is true, only worse, in the case of the colonies of England.

This fact places the fundamental advantage with the Central Powers, while the minimum efficiency is with the Allies.

No one knows these facts better than Mr. Roosevelt and his associate defamers. It is nothing less than diabolical, political turpitude to blame President Wilson for military inefficiency in the face of these facts.

From a military point of view, it might have been far more sagacious to have placed millions of soldiers in the agricultural and industrial fields, thus enabling us to bountifully feed and supply the Allies whose soldiers were near the battle field, but Roosevelt and his band do not raise this point.

Sordid ambition appears to be their only guide.

SABOT—a kind of wooden shoe worn by the peasantry of Europe.

What has this to do with sabotage?

Simple enough! The shoe was thrown into the machine for the purpose of destroying its usefulness in times of strikes.

That is the meaning of the word.

Other meanings that may be attached indicate that the mind of the author of the new interpretation is changing while the original meaning persists.

The theory and practice of sabotage is wrong. The cause of the working class must be worked out along the lines of constructive, and not destructive, effort.

Life is constructive and productive of hope.

Death is destructive and brings with it despair.

Death, destruction, despair—are unconscionable in their operations. They lead to the pit.

—o—

SECRET DIPLOMACY is among the most dangerous of all methods ever conceived to adjust international affairs.

It must be abolished or peace will ever be broken by repeated wars.

Establish secret diplomacy between the States of this country and a civil war would soon follow.

A few powerful states would seek to control by arms what they now strive to control by politics.

Lay all the cards on the table in a world parliament, center the military or police authority there, open the commerce of the world to all, and we will put the world in a fair way to work out international harmony.

This would bring about a harmony of states, but internal discord extends its roots far deeper than politics. They run down into the vitals of capitalism, animal greed and ambition. Combined these develop insatiable cannibalism.

Internal harmony can be established only by eliminating all conflict of interest and by laying a substantial foundation in a community of interest upon which a genuine brotherhood can rest secure.

MAN acts in line with his belief.

Belief arises in logical sequence from an established or assumed premise.

Belief is therefore determined not by right or wrong, but by the accepted premise.

First, the premise and the reasoning.

Second, the conclusion and the belief.

Third, the action.

This is the mental process that unlocks the infinite energy of the race and turns loose the dogs of war as well as the princes of peace.

Look carefully, therefore, into your premise.

Can man live in harmony when conflicting interests evolve out of his institutions?

Is it right for one to expropriate the energy of another?

Is profiteering right either in times of peace or war?

If so, is the conservation of energy a fundamental law of nature, or is it even a law at all?

If the conservation of energy is a fundamental law, is not capitalism or expropriation in any form, a violation of that law?

Can one who expropriates human energy contrary to this fundamental law be trusted to use such energy wisely?

If conservation is the law, is not restoration the only just answer?

If restoration is made, will there not be peace and harmony?

If restoration is refused, will there not be conflict and war?

Some say that pacifists are traitors; that war is natural. But we say unto you, "Look well into your premise, for the nature of the animal is determined in the egg."

—o—

HINDENBURG will go down in history as the world's greatest general and hence the world's greatest destroyer.

Tolstoi will go down in history as the world's greatest pacifist and hence the world's greatest savior.

Choose ye whom ye will serve.

The International Lives!

By David Bobspa

Wave forever,
Oh good red flag of universal brotherhood.
For the International lives!
Never died the spark of freedom's fire.
Earth trembles today
In birth of the era of Humanism.
Blindly we groped for
The International
Through rapacious years of exploitation.

The Great War
Has clarified our vision
And thorofied our understanding
Of humanity's Greater War!

Rise of Humanism
In Russia dawned, as
The red flag of the International
By Bolsheviki flung
Proclaimed to all the world
The hour of freedom's triumph.

Oh glad May Day
One-nine-one-eight
When arouses the proletariat
To make real today
The International!

The Story of American Socialism

By Lincoln Phifer, Editor "The New World."

I. THE DRAMA OF COLONIZATION

OWEN'S INTELLECTUAL APPEAL

ROBERT OWEN was born in Wales in 1771. He was poorly schooled and at eleven was apprenticed to a London merchant. His ability was such that within ten years he had arisen to the superintendency of more than 500 workmen. He quit the place and became a partner with Arkwright, inventor of the spinning jenny, in the New Lanark, Scotland, cotton mill. The village went with the mill, and the employess were mostly children, who were slept and fed in barracks and treated much like beasts. Owen at once began reforms. The spinning jenny owned by them, in one of the few mills in the world that used it, assured business success; and child labor was abolished, model tenements were erected, the liquor business was curtailed and in general, conditions were improved, while free schools were established. When the partners objected to the reforms Owen published a statement of the case, which, being widely circulated, called enough liberal-minded men to his side to enable him to buy out the objectors and proceed with his work. His reforms and agitation brought him such renown that he was called on to aid the English government in ameliorating labor conditions in general and he devised, on request, the famous educational system that has since been used in Prussia.

It was with this equipment that Owen turned his attention to a plan for the reorganization of society. He called his plan Socialism. He lectured on it, and had the learned and famous as auditors. Finally, he projected a community, and finding the Rapp community, land and houses in Posey county, Indiana, for sale, he bought them all and launched his community there on 30,000 acres of land. Though he had devised a building on the order of the old California mission houses, with many rooms surrounding a vacant court, as a means of affording cheap construction and yet compactness and individual privacy with community relationship, he accepted the buildings as they stood at New Harmony. Owen not only gave his money to promote the enterprise without hope of reward, but also spent much of his time at New Harmony. The experiment attracted men of science and letters. The community was visited by notables from all over the world. Lectures of a high order were delivered, and there was a marked development of musical talent. In the very midst of this activity, Owen had the courage, if lack of discretion, to announce his conversion from belief in religion to materialism. This turned a large element against him.

Because of Owen's materialistic belief many preachers visited the colony for the purpose of promulgating their dogmas. Owen met the invasion in a characteristic manner. He insisted on entertaining the ministers and giving them free use of the hall, the only stipulation being that at the conclusion of their talks they must submit to questioning. While this free forum almost stopped the propaganda of religion in New Harmony, it increased rather than diminished dissension.

The community provided free education and free medical service. The New Harmony experiment failed after about three years. There were efforts to establish other communities under modified plans and with selected membership. In one, composed of literary men and men of sedentary habits, all worked, and service was the passion of life. But finally life to the intellectuals appeared too tame and the members went

back to the world, where they could make their living by easier methods.

* * *

The Owenite idea was taken up by others. One experiment sought to free slaves and develop them under co-operative conditions; but six months were sufficient to discourage the promoters and the freed slaves were removed to Hayti and the community was abandoned. Another community was established by learned rationalists with a "church of Reason." Another, composed of farmers, took up manufacture on a co-operative basis and prospered, but was broken up because titles to real estate held did not stand the test in the courts.

* * *

Owen lived until 87 years old, and devoted his life to the workers, dying comparatively poor. He organized in England an "Association of All Classes and Nations," which afterward assumed the name of Socialists. He left four sons, all of who remained in America, and all of whom attained reputation, each in the line of work he pursued.

Most famous of his sons was Robert Dale Owen, who continued the work begun in the New Harmony community. He published three papers in succession, setting forth the hopes of the workers, the last, "Young America," attaining a wide circulation and carrying at the head two demands that are very striking: "Equal rights for women with men in all respects," and "Abolition of chattel slavery and of wage slavery." Twice he was elected to congress, and drafted the act under which the Smithsonian Institute was established in Washington. He was perhaps the chief figure in the fight for the establishment of public schools on a national basis. In his old age he wrote President Lincoln suggesting how the slaves might be emancipated; and the very plan he suggested was followed. It is a singular thing that both he and his father, though both had boldly proclaimed their materialism, before their death declared their belief in spiritualism. The first intellectual expression for emancipation of the working class had, apparently, completed the circle and returned to the earliest inspirational expression.

Chapter IV

I. THE COLONIZING PERIOD

THE FOURIER COLONIES

ABOUT 1835, Charles Fourier, who had been a soldier in the French revolution, brought out a book that outlined his scheme for the regeneration of human society. It was an elaborate system, beginning with the community, which he hoped to organize as the unit, called a phalanx, and leading up to the nation and finally the world. The book did not attract wide attention until Arthur Brisbane, a brilliant American editor, visited Europe, read Fourier's book, and on his return presented the plan to the American people in a volume which he called, the "Social Destiny of Man." This book attracted the favorable attention of many literary men. A column was engaged in the New York Tribune for agitating the plan. Later, a paper, known first as the "Phalanx" and afterward as the "Harbinger," was started to forward the movement. The Brook Farm community, the first of the phalanxes, was formed in Massachusetts, with membership that included such famous people as Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, William

Henry Channing, Charles A. Dana, George W. Curtis, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Margaret Fuller. Louise M. Alcott and Ralph Waldo Emerson gave their sanction to the new work. Their rallying cry was:

"Our white flag is given to the breeze. Our three-fold motto—unity of man with man in true society, unity of man with God in true religion, unity of man with nature in creative art and industry—is blazoned on its folds. Let hearts, strong in the might of faith and hope and charity, rally to bear it on in triumph. We are sure to conquer. God will work with us; humanity will welcome our word of glad tidings. The future is ours. On, in God's name!"

Horace Greeley declared: "I shall do whatever I can for the promotion of our common cause. To it whatever I have or may hereafter acquire of pecuniary ability is devoted." Some of the finest characters America ever produced, men and women that the country still honors, wrote and spoke freely for the cause. As a result phalanxes were organized in many states: six in Ohio, seven in New York, six in Pennsylvania, two in Massachusetts, two in Indiana. Some of these phalanxes attracted more than local attention. Brook Farm community has already been mentioned, composed largely of literary people, who were too much given to contemplation to make practical success of agriculture. Next to it in fame was the North American phalanx, only forty miles from New York city. Fruitlands also attracted much attention. Some of the colonies started under very unfavorable conditions, enduring hardships of pioneering with the utmost cheerfulness.

The total membership in the various phalanxes at one time exceeded 25,000. They held state and even national conventions, and were in a measure affiliated, dreaming of a time when they should be able to dominate the social activities of the nation.

It is a rather remarkable fact that the same thing that had given strength to the colonizing movements up to this time—that is, the abundance of cheap land in America—was the prime cause of the sudden collapse of the phalanxes; for when hardships became too great and dissensions arose, the members could always go further west and get individual foothold. Many of the phalanxes had started without adequate means of protecting themselves until they could get established. This was expressly against the advice of Fourier and Brisbane, both. But enthusiasm got away with their judgment. These were the first to go. When they failed, the American people, who had hailed the new movement with great favor, suddenly lost interest in it and declared the whole thing a failure. They would no longer listen to agitation or argument in its favor. The result was that even the stronger communities went down in rapid succession. Within a few years from the first collapse, all was gone, and the most evanescent and picturesque of the American colony movements had become a thing of the past.

Chapter V.

THE ICARIANS

ETIENNE CABOT was a Frenchman whose radicalism procured his banishment to England. In this country he became a student and writer of histories. His researches led him to the conclusion that history was a story of needless calamity; and he evolved a scheme which he believed, if adopted, would end the miseries of which he had read and written so much. He presented his ideas in the story of an imaginary, ideal society, which he described in a book entitled "A Voyage to Icaria." This was published in France in 1840. The old communards rallied to him, and he speedily gained a large

following. Persecution followed. But persecution increased interest in his proposals. In 1847 it was estimated that there were hundreds of thousands who believed in his ideas, in France, Switzerland, Spain, Germany, England and other countries. Challenged to prove his theories by experiments, and urged by his followers to do so, he called for volunteers for a colonizing movement. The response was astounding. He himself declared that he believed a million might be rallied to the movement. He went to England to consult the aged Robert Owen, and was told that he (Owen) had, after his experience in Indiana, planned a big colony in Texas. Cabot determined to found his colony in Texas. Thousands offered to join the first colony. From among these Cabot selected 69 and started them to America to prepare for a larger company that was to follow.

On arriving in America the Icarians fell into the hands of land sharks. They purchased what they supposed to be a million acres of land in Texas, only to discover that the deeds were so worded that they really obtained only 10,240 acres, and this land was in western Louisiana rather than Texas. They supposed the land could be reached by boat, but found that they had to travel overland, over a swamp country without roads for 150 miles from New Orleans. The trip exhausted many. Many contracted fevers, and deaths became frequent. Finally their one physician became insane.

In the meantime a republic had been proclaimed in France, and the Icarians there were split with dissensions. Instead of 1500 coming to America in the second contingent, only 19 came across. When they arrived at the huts that had been built on the colony property, and saw how gloomy the prospect looked, they advised an abandonment of the project. Dividing into three companies and taking different routes in order to make surer of finding game sufficient to sustain all while returning to New Orleans, the Icarians made a slow and painful march, many being sick and four dying on the journey.

Arrived at New Orleans, they met a third contingent of colonists and waited there for a fourth, which contained Cabot himself. Explorers were sent out to discover a new and better location. It was at this time Cabot heard that the land and buildings which the Mormons owned at Nauvoo, Ill., were for sale cheap, on account of the opposition to the Mormons having led to the killing of their leader, Joseph Smith, at that place, and the Mormons, under Brigham Young, being determined to strike out to the great west. The Icarians went to Nauvoo by boat and purchased the Mormon property.

At Nauvoo the Icarians prospered. A thousand acres of rented land were cultivated. Mills and shops were started and schools established. They published a newspaper. They had agents in Paris and other parts of Europe. They owned their own theatre and had a stock company of Icarians; they had an orchestra of fifty pieces.

While things looked bright Cabot returned to France and paid, as a debt of honor, the losses some who had joined the colony and then abandoned it had sustained. While abroad, he was entertained by the aged Robert Owen. On returning to America he was welcomed by statesmen and scholars throughout the East as a philanthropist, and in speaking of his colony and its hopes he said: "The earth will be a fairy land; the habitations palaces; the labors of the people mere pastimes; and their whole lives pleasant dreams."

On returning to Nauvoo, in a spirit of generosity, he, who until this time had exercised dictatorial powers over the community, reorganized it as a pure democracy. It was not long however, before difficulties arose. Cabot then desired to re-assume dictatorial powers that he might restore it to prosperity. He was resisted. The colony became bitterly divided.

(Continued on Page 34)

Saying What We Think

By Walter Pritchard Eaton

WE have never had free speech in America, and, in some respects, less with each decade. I mean by that, there have always been restraints, either by law or opinion, on a man's utterances. Some of these restraints are those of politeness or decency, and they grow more strict all the time.

In the eighteenth century you could say many things before women, for which you would get your head punched today. In the early nineteenth century literary critics could kill Keats with unkindness and sling venom and spite which today no decent periodical would consent to print. On the other hand, a century ago, it was far less safe to say what you thought about the code of orthodox Christianity. Even today, however, in most communities, public opinion makes it uncomfortable for a man to express religious views that go beyond Unitarianism, and there is a kind of hushed and fearsome taboo against any outspoken criticism of the Roman Catholic church.

The result of this is, of course, ignorance and superstition about the Roman church, underground and ridiculous attacks upon it, and, in the Church itself, the kind of reaction such attacks inevitably breed. The taboo against a fair, free, open discussion of the Roman church in America is one of the dangerous things in our country; and it is a product not of respect for Catholic feelings, but a product of cowardly fear on both sides.

Politically, we have always had a supposed right of free speech, though such speech is, after all, but a small part of man's expression. What the general sentiments of the community will not let him say is, normally, far more than what the government would try to stop his saying in war time. For instance, Scott Nearing probably found less real chance for expression when he was a professor at Pennsylvania in peace times than since he became the persecuted head of the People's Council in war times. The so-called legal right to free speech, that is, to free and full criticism and discussion of governmental problems, does not begin to cover the ground, and a nation may conceivably give the fullest liberty of speech in its constitution and yet, practically, through public sentiment, greatly restrict its radicals, its thinkers, as well as its loose-mouthed pests. There was never less free speech, probably, in many lines, than in the New England of the Puritans.

Now, what I am trying to get at is this: Free speech, broadly considered, really has very little to do with laws and constitutions, and a great deal to do with the temper, the spirit of the people. If a people love truth for its own sake, have the intellectual balance and sanity to listen to both sides of any question, no matter how exciting the question may be, real free speech will exist among them.

That is why, in a nation as intellectually childish as America, free speech in war time is really impossible, and would be if Solomon were Postmaster General instead of the present incumbent. Free Speech depends on a national state of mind, not on a set of officials. Burleson could today be replaced, Congress could repeal all the powers of restriction given him, but still, though a relatively few radical organs WOULD break forth, the average man would be little more outspoken than he is now. The great mass of the American people believe in the justice of this war and they do not see the other side of it. (I do not mean the German side by that, for I, myself, can see no German side. I mean the side which disposes the inconsistencies of all nations at war and the true import of war to the toiling masses.)

Above all, the great bulk of the American people accept childishly the creed "My Country, Right or Wrong," and believe that any discussion that takes an impersonal or international squint and looks deeper or more searchingly, is delaying action and an aid to the enemy. In other words, the mass of people, under the aroused passions of battling nationalism, are practically incapable of real, intellectual discussion, and hence are intolerant of real free speech. Such laws as we have enforced against free speech in the past year or more could not have been enforced without a great majority sanction behind them. That sanction would have operated without the laws to repress speech, even if it did not impose such material punishment on the speakers.

The editor of THE INTERNATIONALIST tells me that he wonders how long the American people must wait to regain their pre-war rights to "unmolested expression." Not a day after the American people WANT unmolested expression, and not a day before! In the present state of civilization, they will not want it, in all probability, while the war lasts, unless the war should bring great suffering. They may not want it after the war, even, should the mad whirligig of events now

MAY DAY

Holy Day of human Brotherhood—

That now seems like a tragic mockery
Because, alas, we have not understood
The forces that are yet to make us free!

Like Springtime breaking through the vernal bond,
When nature fills the world with new-born pow'r,
You urge us to the hope that lies Beyond,
In keeping with the spirit of the hour.

Your inspiration fans the passion flame
That burns so deep within the rebel soul,
And strengthens us to press the common aim
Which leads along the way to Freedom's goal.

We consecrate again your sacred ties
That bind us to a dream sometime must be
A crowning triumph from which shall arise
The coming world of true Fraternity.

—WILLIAM J. FIELDING.

going on bring about the class struggle as the great issue. Then the ruling class and its vast supporting army of the middle class will still prefer privilege to discussion.

Free speech is the ideal right of every man. It is the actual right only so far as he can maintain it and so far as the passions of the community support him. Free speech implies, usually, something potentially uncomfortable. Somebody may always be about to emit a new truth or attack an old one, which compels thought and readjustment. Your average man hates thought and loathes readjustment. So if your free speech makes him so uncomfortable, he will always do his best to make YOU UNCOMFORTABLE until you shut up.

But, on the other hand, the average man does have a sense of fair play, and so long as he is not too stirred by war passions, he hesitates to resort to force in suppression. Just

China And The Social Revolution

By Kiang Kang Hu, National Secretary, Socialist Party of China.

THE idea of Collectivism or Socialism is very old in China. It can be traced back to the very beginning of Chinese civilization, over four thousand years ago.

When about a decade ago, modern Socialist thought began to be propagated in China, it met with two sets of critics, each holding opposite views, yet each equally severe in their criticism of the new doctrine. One set said, "Socialism, why that is nothing new; we have had that for ages." The other set said, "Socialism is an importation. It is foreign to our soil. It may fit European conditions but it certainly does not fit Chinese conditions."

Both of these critics were partially correct and yet, because of their narrow view, both were wrong. True, the traces of communistic thought are to be found in Chinese life and history for centuries. But their ideas are distinctly Utopian in their character and cannot be identified with modern scientific Socialism. True, likewise, was it at that time (a decade ago) that scientific or Marxian Socialism was an imported plant which could not flourish in Chinese soil. But China is changing. Machine production is rapidly displacing handicraft. Where yesterday stood the little cobbler shop, today, the great shoe factory rears its ugly form. Where yesterday the coolie porter trotted with his burden, the automobile truck rushes on its way. Railroads have come, and power looms. This is the soil in which scientific Socialism will grow. Nothing can stop it.

The Chinese, like the whole human race, have natural collectivist leanings. If we mine into the mountain of Chinese philosophy, we will soon find a rich vein of collectivism running throughout, persisting throughout its entire length and breadth. Material enough is at hand to fill a bulky volume.

Greatest of all Chinese philosophers is Confucius. Says this sage: "All mankind is a brotherhood. More than that, they are even as the parts of one body, of which you cannot injure the slightest without giving pain to the whole." Again, he says: "Equality is the ideal of society." And again: "The well-being and stability of a nation lies not in its wealth, but in the equal distribution of that wealth among its people."

In the last decade, here and there, were to be found individuals and small groups scattered throughout the Empire of China who studied and advocated Humanitarianism, Communism and Socialism. But these groups had no connection with one another, and their ideas, for the most part, were vague and misty.

Kiang Kang Hu, a professor at the University of Peking, was publishing a radical newspaper which had for its aim the

introduction of new ideas into China. This paper translated and published portions of the works of Balzac, of Victor Hugo, Byron and Shelley, Goethe and Heine, and towards the end of its career, some of the works of Peter Kropotkin, Karl Marx and August Bebel.

Kiang Kang Hu, thus coming into contact with Socialism, became interested and finally was converted to the new doctrine. He began an agitation for the freedom of woman immediately and went on many lecture tours in the interest of Socialism.

In Shanghai, on July 10, 1911, at the Chang Shu Ho Gardens, Kiang Kang Hu organized a Socialist Club, and on the same day the first Socialist paper in China, "The Socialist Star," made its first appearance.

The Shih Hui Tong, or Socialist party, was the first political party as such in China. The Socialist party, although not being composed of clear-cut Marxians, was nevertheless earnest and enthusiastic in its desire for the establishment of a Socialist Republic. On November 5, 1911, the Socialist party of China met in its first annual Convention at Shanghai and adopted a preamble and a platform.

In considering the platform of the Socialist party of China, we must remember the particular historic and economic conditions of that country. China is still partly submerged in the handicraft stage of economic development. Only portions of China have emerged into the machine process of production, or Capitalism. And this further fact must be borne in mind: China has an immense agricultural population, among whom there are a great many tenants and absentee landlords. Historically, China had just awakened from an age-long lethargic sleep and it was more or less bewildered by the white light of dawning day.

The eight planks of the platform were as follows:

1. The establishment of a Republican form of government.
2. The wiping out of all racial differences.
3. The abolition of all the remaining forms of feudal slavery and the establishment of the principle of equality before the law.
4. The abolition of all hereditary estates.
5. Free and universal school system, on co-educational lines, together with free text-books and the feeding of school children.
6. The abolition of all titles and castes.
7. To levy taxes in the main upon land and to do away with all personal taxes.
8. The abolition of the army and navy.

The subsequent revolutions in China played havoc with the Socialists. The secretary of the party, Chen Ye Long, was beheaded on August 8. The party headquarters at Peking were raided by the government authorities and a decree of dissolution was issued against the Socialist party. A similar decree was issued later.

After these decrees had been issued, the Socialist party branches everywhere were forcibly dissolved. Many of the comrades were thrown in jail and a number were executed. The party, as a unit, ceased to exist, although individuals secretly kept up a sporadic agitation.

But the Socialist movement in China will reassemble its forces, and will fall in step with the great Red International and march with it to victory.

now he is using force. That, as I see it, is a practically inevitable result of war, against which the real weapon is the slow, persistent spread of international thinking. Already, it may be, international thinking in America is breaking down a little the restrictions of force. It seems to me there is a perceptible increase of UNPUNISHED radicalism in press and platform talk. But to expect our pre-war rights to be fully restored while the war is in progress is to expect a whole nation, made unreasonable by ancient passions, to become suddenly reasonable with calm, intellectual detachment and to put mind over matter, logic over purse and patriotism.

Such things simply don't happen. To make them happen is one of the great, shining, distant goals towards which the dreamers of the world are striving.

Highlands For Health

"I'D LIKE to come to Louisiana, but, oh, the malaria! I just couldn't risk my health there."

Every mail brings a wail of this kind in at least one letter. Louisiana has been adversely advertised. Its climate is described by one ex-California enthusiast as being equal to California, Southern California, too! Its healthfulness is second to no part of the country. Not even the high, dry air of the desert can claim advantage over the Highlands of Louisiana.

This is an extreme statement. But it has a firm foundation in truth. Every "oldest inhabitant" of this district is rugged and strong. All agree that the place is a healthful one in which to live. Even persons who have been troubled with lung weaknesses and bronchial weaknesses have found the climate here beneficial.

Louisiana is a state of varied conditions. It has its swampy district, and it is these districts that have been told of in song and story, in descriptive accounts, and in narrative. They lend themselves naturally to such accounts. Therefore, they have figured largely in them. Longfellow takes Evangeline through the swamps of Louisiana and in the endless inter-connected bayous (say it by-o) she passes Basil without knowing it. Every child reads the wonderful story of "Evangeline," and the description of the bayous and swamps and the lowlands of Louisiana remain firmly in mind. Hence Louisiana became a land of dismal swamps and is remembered as such. Its Highlands are unadvertised. No Evangeline has yet brought them to the notice of the world.

The Highlands of Louisiana are well drained. There is no standing water. There are no alligators. Few indeed, are the mosquitoes. Malaria is unknown, almost. Yellow fever never gets closer than several hundred miles. The Highland district of Louisiana will compare favorably for health conditions with any part of the United States. This statement can stand unqualified. It is a pleasant and a healthful place to live, a land where opportunity is just beginning to show herself, where she is now timidly knocking, and where doors are still shut to her. But the tapping is arousing a few. The day of the Highlands is just dawning.

There is the scent of the pines in the Highlands, the balm of health in the breeze that blows from them. Came to the Highlands not long ago, several persons who had been ordered by physicians to live in the high, dry atmosphere of California. They had been told that continued health depended upon it. Yet these persons are better here than there.

Hundreds of miles of the Highlands have been covered with timber, the famous long leaf pine, oak, gum, beech, and many other kinds of timber, many of them valuable. Now the timber is fast disappearing. High prices have placed a premium on it and the great mills are taking the trees as fast as labor can cut them down. This is the lumberman's harvest, and he is not blind to the opportunity. Rapidly the parishes of Western Louisiana are being denuded. The era of the real builder of wealth is just setting in. The land smiles beneath the warm Southern sun and lies waste, waiting for the coming of the plow. The eyes of the North, stimulated by the memory of one of the bitterest winters that history records, are turning to the South where land is cheap, where fuel is plentiful, where Nature rewards instead of hinders.

Few can believe what a hospitable land it is. Slightly rolling, with rich bottoms between the low, undulating hills, it offers months of good grazing to the livestock man. Instead of the one crop a season, the southern farmer plans on two. His protection against the elements are slight. His equipment is

ridiculously small. His methods are, in the eyes of the thoroughgoing northern farmer, slipshod to a degree. Yet the farmers of the South fare exceedingly well, do not work hard, and the bank reports show splendid average balances, well distributed. It is a land so rich in opportunity that failure is almost impossible.

Though there are comparatively few farms here, for this has been the lumberman's paradise instead of the farmers, yet agriculture has been carried on here for many years, and within a few miles of the colony may be found men who have lived here all their lives, who have tilled the soil for forty years or more, and who boast of the big families they have raised here. It is safe to say that a farm that will raise a family of a dozen children is a good farm, or at least that is the firm belief of the South, and it seems sound enough. There are many northern farms that fail to do this.

The Highlands are beautiful. This does not tell the story. Perhaps words will always fail to do so. The vegetation is largely the source of this beauty. Against the straight, slim pines with their dark green, are massed the lighter blended greens of the oak, beech, gum, hickory, and other trees. The ground beneath is a carpet of grass where the sun can get through the leaves of the trees above. Springs and creeks abound. Flowers are seen everywhere and the air is filled with the hum of bees. Those who appreciate natural beauty find themselves without words to express their emotions. Those of more practical turn of mind see in the flowers more than beauty, for they picture the development of the bee industry. Those who see beyond the mere greenery of the grass imagine in their minds fields of clover and alfalfa, with sleek dairy cows and sheep and hogs in the fields. Those whose minds combine the practical with the beautiful see in the trees straight logs that will make building material, or furnish the legs and arms and backs of chairs, or which may be converted into a myriad of uses.

There's something in the Highlands of Louisiana for all. There is health for the sick, there is wealth for the industrious, there is beauty for those of artistic perceptions. California's climate without irrigation, California's beauty made accessible to more people, California's hospitality enhanced—these are the inducements that the heretofore little-known Highlands of Western Louisiana hold out to those who seek homes.

The Highlands for Health, the Highlands for Wealth, the Highlands for Opportunity! Bees, trees, flowers, arable lands, long seasons, abundant fuel, diversity of crops—a mere description of the great Highlands reads like an advertisement. But the proofs are ample, are to be found everywhere, and it is only because these proofs have never been presented to land seekers that the opportunity has so long gone undiscovered. This, and the additional fact that the land has been and still is held in great tracts that would not be broken up, has kept settlers out. The wealth has either been held in timber or has remained as mere potentiality and not as a real asset. Only now is the entering wedge being driven into what will in a few years be one of the richest agricultural districts of the South, if not of the United States.

Farmers from well-tilled districts in the North and West are astonished at what they see here. Instead of broad highways they find winding roads through the woods. Pole barns, and in many cases, pole houses are living quarters and protection for livestock and implements, such protection as is given. The universal implement is an eight-inch plow drawn by one mule. This is so that it may be easily guided about the stumps. Land is tilled year after year with the stumps left in the

ground. Small horses, small mules, small wagons, small equipment, small farms, and large families—these are the accepted thing throughout much of the cotton belt. The southern farmer does not strive for wealth. He is content with a living, and it must be admitted that he gets it and it is a good and plentiful one, notwithstanding the apparent primitiveness of his equipment and methods. It is the bounteousness of Nature that does it, and no premium is set on an undue expenditure of energy.

The Llano Colony has probably the largest tilled field in Vernon Parish, notwithstanding that this is the first year, and there were many things to be done, such as clearing and fencing that required a big initial outlay in labor. The several hundred acres that will be under fence and cultivation within a few weeks, are the source of much interest. The value of the land has been much enhanced by reason of this labor. Corn, peanuts, and garden are planted. Garden stuff is now being served on the table twice a day. Cane is sprouting and the assurance of plenty of good cane syrup for the hotcakes next fall is a pleasing prospect. The South is expected to feed itself this year, and the colony is making preparations to do its part in this program. No cotton is to be planted. The original intention was to put out a good acreage to cotton, but it was decided to concentrate on food production this season.

A large acreage of corn, peanuts, and velvet beans, will give food and feed. This with the cane and garden stuff should make it possible for the colony to set a good table largely from its own products. Gardening, both private and collective, is very popular and heavy yields are promised.

Only those who come here and see for themselves can realize the wonderful prospects and the splendid opportunities. Either as a colonist or as an individual landowner, this region invites the investigator. Industrially, too, there are promises of profit, promises of development along lines that have never been attempted heretofore. It requires only a little time to make the colony the center of an activity that shall turn waste lands and waste products into wealth to be shared by those who produce it in the proportion into which they enter into this production.

Louisiana, the wonderful, rich in her opportunities, lavish in her promises, generous in her invitation, Louisiana, Queen of the South, has been misunderstood, unappreciated, overlooked in the search for homes. Just now her resources are beginning to have its effect. Louisiana, the satisfied, is beginning to awake into Louisiana, the aggressive, ready and anxious to prove her superiority as a home place, and to display her many luxurious charms.

Louisiana invites. She also provides!

Impressions of the Colony

By A Northerner

I CAME, I saw, and—I was convinced! I was convinced by what I saw with my own eyes and heard with my own ears, and otherwise learned through the undeniable testimony of my several senses.

I was already satisfied that co-operation, either in small communities or on a larger scale, is thoroughly practicable. But to believe this is one thing. To see the principle actually in successful operation is quite another. And now, having seen, heard and felt, all the sophistry in the world cannot shake the stability of my conviction.

I found in the Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony at Stables, Louisiana, a well-systematized, sanely-managed community of people of all sorts, classes, ages, and conditions who are really proving that a co-operative colony is a more desirable place in which to live, than is the ordinary town or city in which John Smith and Bill Brown are both scrambling for the same dollar, and in which, if Smith gets the dollar, Brown is likely to go hungry. There was no long-haired fanaticism, no endless oratory by perpetual speech-makers, no outlandish outbursts by unbalanced theorists—nothing of the kind. There was, however, the evidence everywhere of serious, earnest purpose on the part of every man and woman in the colony. All were plainly devoted to the ideal of socialism. All were doing their share to translate that ideal into a tangible thing. All were working industriously, quietly, unostentatiously, but with a joy and an enthusiasm that are quite different from the weary resignation of the wage slave who toils for another's profit.

Kickers may kick, knockers may knock, slanderers spurred on by plutocratic pay may spill their venom, but all the kicking and knocking and lying in the world won't make the slightest impression on the man who has visited the colony and found for himself that it is a genuine success. Personal observation affords the only kind of information that is worth a tinker's whistle. That is the kind of information that I determined to get. And having gotten it, my mind is about as firmly settled on this point as it is on the spheroid shape

of the earth or any other fact which no sensible person presumes to dispute.

The colony IS a success. Six months from now it will be a still bigger success. A year from now it will be developed to a point which is difficult to imagine. But, waiving consideration of the future, THE COLONY IS A SUCCESS RIGHT NOW AND IS RIGHT NOW AN IDEAL PLACE IN WHICH TO LOCATE.

The climate is as near perfect as this old planet affords, if my travels have taught me anything. The air is uniformly balmy and fragrant. Gentle breezes from early spring until late autumn stir the leaves of the trees, but never chill those who live in this delightful region of eternal summer. In the mid-winter, so inhabitants tell me, occasional frost and a few snappy mornings are the nearest approach of bitter blasts of the frozen and snowy north.

The colony is located on an average altitude of 300 feet above sea level. The place seems one of the healthiest I ever stopped in. It is as free from pests, plagues and insects as the most highly recommended town in the north. Nature's endless youth seemed to have left its impress on all living there, for I did not see a sickly or feeble person in the colony. If the fountain which El Dorado vainly sought, is a material reality, it must be hidden somewhere in the verdant luxury of Llano shrubbery or shrouded by some of the clustering vines and stately trees that give beauty and majesty to the place. For the colonists are uniformly healthy, active and well preserved.

On the magnificent tract of 20,000 acres which the colony occupies in part, are already a machine shop, printshop, hotel, store, school, and public hall, cottages, and numerous other buildings either partly or wholly completed. A bakery is being constructed of brick, one of the buildings is soon to be made into a hospital, and an office building is already in use. Free medical attendance, free dances, free musical and elocutionary entertainments and free instruction in languages, economics, and other subjects are provided members of the colony. Ev-

ery member is guaranteed employment, and furnished free a cottage in which to live, unless he prefers to live at the hotel where meals are served for 12½ cents each.

The warmth of the climate, the excellent health conditions, and the remarkable productivity of the soil on which huge crops of vegetables, fruits and peanuts are being raised this season, impressed me particularly. Here one can live—not exist, but LIVE the free, joyous, normal life Nature intended—without fear of lockouts, strikes, rent bills, and all the other calamities of the capitalistic system. All a man needs to do is to join the colony and to work at his chosen or allotted work eight hours a day in a delightful climate under health-giving conditions and with the friendliest, most neighborly lot of fellow-workers I ever saw. Persons so doing, are assured a livelihood amid the most congenial surroundings that right-minded, human people can desire.

The exemplification of the principle of brotherhood, however, impressed me more than anything else. Climate conditions and physical characteristics of different places naturally vary. But human nature is about the same the world over. So if co-operation can succeed in Louisiana, it can succeed in Klondike or Siberia or anywhere else, for that matter.

THEREIN LIES THE IMPORTANT FACT CONCERNING THE LLANO COLONY. It proves that Socialism and co-operation, instead of being golden dreams of an impossible ideal, are facts of evolution that are slowly—slowly, because of human ignorance and selfishness—transforming industrial and political conditions all about us.

This transformation is already in process. It is paving the way for the Great Change, here, there and everywhere. In most places its effects, so far, are scarcely noticeable. But in the Llano colony at Stables, the transformation is a present, living fact that has changed the lives of several hundred men, women and children, is influencing thousands of others in all parts of the world, and will, if I mistake not, provide the foundation on which the Super-Civilization of Co-operation and Brotherhood will securely rest.

I visited Llano Colony. I am satisfied. And I am going there to live as soon as I can make arrangements for moving.

In going, I am actuated, naturally, by several motives, among which are the desires to live in so beautiful a land, under summer skies and near to Nature's heart; to have the comforts of life without engaging in ceaseless strife and selfish struggle for them; and to find freedom and fellowship with kindred souls who ask no more for themselves than they are willing to grant all the rest of mankind. But greater even than these incentives is the hope that in joining this band of pioneers in the cause of Universal Liberty, I am helping make the community which shall prove to be the mother colony of the millions of similar colonies that will some day cover the earth.

Not only will my family and I have food and shelter and clothing and protection and the opportunity to work for the joy of working instead of for greedy gain, but we shall be privileged to do a perhaps important part in building for that Better Day whose Glorious Dawn is even now brightening the tired, toiling millions of a work-worn world.

That is why I am going to Llano Colony. Could I have better reason?

—The United States of America is on the verge of revolution—political social and industrial.—Linn A. E. Gale, "Gale's Magazine."

—Milk suitable for domestic purposes should not exceed 1,000,000 bacteria per c. c.—D. Houston, "Better Business," Ireland.

—The great difficulty in the ordinary family is that we have too many kinds of food for one meal, and that there is neither the time nor the skill to prepare so many things in the best manner.—Maria Parloa, "Century."

Are We Consistent?

Sailendra Nath Ghose, a Hindu revolutionist, has been arrested in the United States for organizing an army of Hindus to rebel against British rule in India. It is said that Ghose violated a provision of the Espionage act by representing himself as a diplomatic commissioner of the India Nationalist party.

Notwithstanding the alleged illegality of Ghose's procedure, it cannot be gainsaid that his propaganda is one that should be heartily approved by every true revolutionist. Nowhere has there been such a well-organized attempt to hold in servile subjection millions of people in order to fill the coffers of the ruling classes. The sickening stench of corrupt British rule in India is one of the foulest blots on the pages of history.

If the United States is not hypocritical in its advocacy of world democracy, it will cease punishing such men as Ghose, and even lend them moral and financial assistance in effecting their plans of emancipating the submerged workers of India.

—A. S.

How Not To Abolish Prostitution

Oklahoma City is driving out its prostitutes. Every rooming house and hotel in the city is being purged of women of the underworld. Virtue is to be preserved by additions to the police force.

This is another illustration of the absurd direct actionist methods of our pseudo-reformers. They strike savagely at the outward manifestations of the evil, but are oblivious to the basic causes. They fail to see that for every prostitute they suppress, the capitalist system of poverty and exploitation is creating another. Even if these gentlemen could kill every prostitute that now lives, a few years hence there would be the same army of unfortunates.

And have these lickspittles of the outside of the platter realized that when they drive the women out of their cities, they are not solving the problem to the slightest extent, but are merely passing an additional burden to neighboring cities?

Remake the social system under which we live. Make poverty impossible. Guarantee every girl a good education. With this done, the problem of the prostitute will rapidly disappear.—A. S.

Liars Do Figure

The "Kansas City Star," on its editorial page, quotes with approval the sentiment contained in Genesis ix, 6, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man."

We believe that we have heard of a well-known character going under the name of Jesus Christ, who made the remark that "if thy neighbor smite thee upon one cheek, turn to him the other." And, "if a man take thy cloak, give him thy coat also." Again, "if a man compel thee to go with him a mile, go with him twain."

It seems to us that our kept press will have to re-write the New Testament if it wishes to prove Christ to have been an exponent of war and militarism.—A. S.

—The greatest labor crisis in our history will be upon us at the termination of the war.—"Better Business," Ireland.

—The Bolsheviks may be insane, but they are incapable of the nauseating treason to liberty and fraternity which lies at the door of the American government.—William Thurston Brown, "Modern School Magazine."

Modern Religious Movements: No. 3

The Spirit Teaching of India

By Swami Paramananda

IF God is the common origin of all living beings, what causes the differences we see among nations and races and creeds? Does God create them? No. He is never partial; He does not bestow more on one than another. He loves all His children equally. It is we ourselves who create them. As a worldly father offers various gifts to his children and lets each child choose according to his inclination, so the Supreme Father lays the whole world before us—both the world of thought and the world of physical attractions—and we, His children, are allowed to choose whatever we want. But we must naturally reap the result of our choice. It is this difference in the choice of gifts from God which distinguishes the Orient from the Occident. From time immemorial the East has chosen the spiritual life, while the West has always striven for material power. As a result of her choice the East has always exercised a strong religious influence on the world. This is especially true of India, who gave to China and Japan their dominant form of religion; and through the Essene even layed her hand on Christianity. It will be remembered that John the Baptist was an Essene, and more and more are scholars coming to recognize that the Order of the Essenes sprang up through the influence of Buddhist monks, who were sent out over the known world in the Third century B. C. by the great Indian Emperor Asoka.

But although India has been "the cradle of the human race and the native land of the highest philosophy," to use the words of the eminent French writer, Victor Cousin, yet she has never claimed a monopoly of Truth. On the contrary, she has insistently declared that "Truth is one, though men call it by various names" (Rig-Veda). It is self-existent and not limited by or dependent on country, nation or individual authority. Neither can it be the exclusive property of any one people or period. If it was true even in the most remote past, it must be equally true today and through the ages to come.

The root religion of India is known as Vedanta, coming from the Sanskrit words "Veda" (wisdom) and "anta" (end) and means "supreme wisdom." It is not based on any personality, but on the fundamental principles of life; therefore it is the common property of the whole human race. It represents no special book or set of doctrines, but explains the eternal facts of Nature. As the source of all things it recognizes one Supreme Being, one Law, one Essence, called by the Sages "Existence-Absolute, Knowledge-Absolute, Bliss-Absolute." Out of that One has come the whole manifested universe. He dwells in the heart of every being as consciousness; from the minutest atom to the highest mortal, He is present everywhere. Without Him there cannot be anything. He is one without a second; there cannot be more than one Infinite, since infinity means boundless, secondless. Such is the Vedic conception of God; and the realization of this God is the ultimate goal of its teaching.

Although One, this Supreme Being appears before us in many forms. An Infinite Being must have infinite paths leading to Him. Hence He is sometimes personal and sometimes impersonal. Those who seek Him as impersonal realize Him as the Higher Self or Soul in all beings; but to those who cannot follow so abstract an Ideal, He appears as a Personal God, a God of infinite love, infinite beauty, the source of all blessed qualities. With these He establishes the personal relationship of loving Mother, loving Father or Friend; He

takes whatever form we desire. But under whatever form we worship Him, we shall all reach the same God. "All men are struggling along paths that ultimately lead to Me," the Lord declares in the Bhagavad-Gita.

According to Vedanta, the attainment of union with God is the aim of human life. Forgetfulness of our true nature or Godhead is the source of all misery. Yet we can never be robbed of this Divine birthright. No amount of wrong-doing can destroy it. Our misdeeds may blind our inner sight and make us suffer, but we are sure at last to realize our Divinity and be freed from all bondage. If, however, we all possess the same germ of Divinity within us, what is the cause of all the inequality we see? Why is one born happy and another miserable, one intelligent and another dull? The difference lies in the degree of manifestation or unfoldment of the same Divine power, which makes one great in wisdom and enables him to go through the varying conditions of life with courage and serenity; while another, whose mind is veiled, constantly makes mistakes and suffers. God does not send happiness to one soul, and grief to another arbitrarily. The Hindus do not blame an invisible Providence for all the suffering in the world; but they explain it through the natural law of cause and effect.

If a man is born fortunate or wretched, there must be some reason for it; if therefore we cannot find the cause for it in this life, it must have occurred in some previous existence, since no effect is possible without a cause. Whatever good comes to us we must have earned, and whatever evil there is must be the result of our own past mistakes. But as our present has been shaped by our past; so our future will be molded by our present; and if we direct our present energies with whole-hearted earnestness towards counteracting the results of past actions, we can make our future better and brighter. This is the Law of Karma, whatever we sow we must reap. An apple tree cannot be produced from a mango seed, nor a mango tree from an appleseed. If a person spends his life in evil thinking and wrong-doing, then it is useless for him to look for happiness; similarly, a man who thinks and acts wisely cannot help but reap happiness, which none can take away from him. The nature of sin or wrong-living is to make the veil which separates us from God thicker; the nature of right-living is to make the veil thinner and thinner.

The theory of evolution is entirely based on the Law of Karma and leads by a logical necessity to the theory of Reincarnation. Vedanta recognizes that the idea of evolution is not complete, if confined only to material phenomena. It must also extend through the higher realms of man's spiritual consciousness. It is necessary for every living being to continue to evolve until the germ of perfection latent in him had reached its full expression; and this requires many lives and many forms of experience. The Soul of man, however, is not subject to change. It is birthless, deathless, and immortal. "The Soul is not born, neither does it die," the Bhagavad-Gita tells us. The body decays but not the dweller in the body. Death is nothing but going from one house to another. Karma has no power over the real Self of man; it binds only the apparent man. Immortality again inevitably pre-supposes pre-existence, since eternity cannot extend in one direction only. It is evident that that which has no end can

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Do You Need An Adjustment?

By Robert K. Williams

ONE day a stiff-necked, erect and very thin man walked into my Chiropractic office and in a voice indicative of a month's debauch, wheezed out: "Are you the bone-cracking doctor?"

Looking him over a few moments for visible signs of prosperity and satisfying myself that it was asthma and not whiskey that was talking, I replied in the affirmative.

Leading him into my adjustment room, I bade him sit down and tell me his interesting story.

He interrupted himself about every ten words with a lung-scraping cough that sounded like sand-paper being rubbed over a rusty hoop. After he had exhausted himself and gasped frantically for air for a minute or two, he sat up and looked sympathetically at me, and whispered, between gasps, that he would pay good money if I could cure him.

Sympathy and cupidity struggled within me for an instant but sympathy won.

I assured him that he had an aggravated case of bronchitis and that I could cure him almost at once.

He was cheered and left the office breathing quite freely and promised to return next day for a first treatment.

This was during my early chiropractic days. I was cocksure and pitied all doctors not of my radical type and took every occasion to belittle the old-line doctors, and especially despised the osteopaths who at this time were swinging somewhat over to the chiropractic and stealing some of the movements held sacred by the newer school.

The new chiropractor is a queer bird. With little experience and lots of theory, he's about as intolerant as a new convert to socialism. He reads with disdain records of cures by the knife, derides Christian Science, hypnotism and drug medication as mere bunk, and makes himself about as desirable and tolerable as a Holly Roller in a convention of Methodist divines.

Whenever he hears of a friend taking medicine he boils, and bids him throw away the cursed stuff and to take an adjustment and get well. If the friend refuses to follow the advice and continues to gurgles down medicines, he becomes suspicious of him and almost hopes that he will get hold of the wrong bottle.

In the early days chiropractic would cure anything, *Ki-phosis*, *lordosis* and *scoliosis*—that is, humpback, inward curve and lateral curvature of the spine—are perfectly easy to correct. All one needs to do is to adjust above or below the affected vertebra and within a few days the backbone will be as of old.

The young chiropractor doesn't see the need of people going about with deformed bodies. He watches ill-shapen, half-useless people struggling along and wonders if general intelligence, and, especially knowledge of chiropractic, will ever obtain. Pityingly he passes the days. But experience comes, a more dubious turn of mind settles down, and when he finally finds that many of these deformities do not yield, he grows more patient, less intolerant and becomes philosophical.

But to return to our patient. In the meantime I learned that he was a chronic; had ankylosis of the spine—that is growing together of the joints—was asthmatic, had indigestion, suffered from vertigo, regurgitation of the heart, pyloric weakness, stiff-neck, enjoyed enteroptosis and wore false teeth.

He had been ill thirty years, had been a patient of every

doctor in the city, all of whom pronounced him incurable, yet—I guaranteed to cure him. He had not tried chiropractic.

When he stretched out on the table he was a funny-looking thing. In addition to the troubles mentioned, he had a pigeon breast, one hip was higher than the other, he had been operated on for appendicitis, both tonsils had been removed and turbinates sawed out, and his eyes were not mates.

I lifted him up easily and gently fixed his pigeon breast on the softest part of a sawdust pillow and proceeded to pick out the most likely spot to affect an immediate cure. As all the bones were wrong, some grown together, and all making a fine zig-zag paling fence, it was hard to select the proper one.

I picked one I thought least likely to kill him, gave a downward thrust and succeeded in making him groan and cough. He coughed considerably and grew too weak to resist, so I thought it would be a capital idea to break up the stiffness in his neck at this time. I twisted his neck but it was as rigid as a chair leg. I was able to produce intense pain. Before he could defend himself I tried the other side, with worse results. The pain, if anything was added to. He almost rolled off the adjusting table. He grabbed his neck as a fellow grabs his jaw, when he is suffering from the toothache. He sat up and wheezed heavily. I then tried the vibrator and the gentle massage soothed him and he left feeling well.

He kept coming back, gaining confidence each time till I finally tried adjustments again. I only succeeded in making him swear. However, he had faith.

After a month of trying to loosen his bones, I came to the conclusion that I wasn't experienced enough and sought my friend across the hall. This chiro. had a hand as big as a ham, and great, bony fingers capable of lifting vertebrae out by the roots.

For a week I prevailed on my patient to let my friend adjust his neck. Finally he consented after my repeated assurance that it wouldn't hurt.

Telling the doctor with the capable hands how stiff my patient's neck was, he grinned and said: "Bring him on. I've never seen a neck that I couldn't adjust."

Leading my patient over as if to slaughter, he trustingly laid his head in my friend's big palm and closed his eyes. I placed my knee against his body and closed my eyes also. Dr. K's larger and more powerful right hand was firmly placed on the jaw, which practically covered the patient's face. He gave the peculiar twist and a shudder went through me. A grating of dry bones was heard, accompanied by moans of anguish, and before my suffering client could kick himself off the table, Dr. K. gave the other side a twist . . . thoroughly removing all ankylosis.

My patient rolled to the floor despite my efforts and groaned and writhed in torment. When the pain subsided he got up and, strange to say, he could freely move his neck. He wouldn't speak to me for a week. But, up to the time he died, a few weeks afterward from strangulation, he could move his neck.

Chiropractic is a wonderful thing. A lady was directed to me. She had been suffering from Angina Pectoris for fifteen years. She had been to Europe and had consulted eminent neurologists in America as well. She had spent \$16,000 in quest of surcease from pain. In ten seconds I had the fourth dorsal adjusted and she hasn't had a heart pain since. She

still owes me \$2.

After adjustments, I induced sixty school teachers to lay aside glasses. I've always thought they didn't need them.

A chiropractor is a handy thing to have around the house. A friend of mine, who hardly knows anything, learned to adjust. He visited a town for the purpose of starting a lodge. The man he wanted to see was crippled with lumbago. He couldn't stand. He realized unless this man got well he would have to walk back home. So, taking his information in his hands, he adjusted his client, using two chairs as a table. Immediately the man arose, and among other things said, "I am well." My friend made over \$80 in commissions that night.

The spine is the central axis of the skeleton. It is composed of 26 superimposed bones, called vertebra, meaning "capable of turning." It encloses and protects the spinal cord in the bony canal, which is provided with a series of thirty intervertebral foramina on each side for the exit of the spinal nerves. The average length, from Atlas to tip of Coccyx is 28 inches in man and 27 inches in woman. About one-quarter of its length is made up of intervertebral discs. There are two primary and two secondary curves in the spine, which adds greatly to the elasticity and strength of the column and thus breaks shocks and increases resistance to injury. about the California colony. In the light of the above facts. Of the 26 vertebra, 24 are movable and are divided from above downward as follows: 7 cervical; 12 thoracic; 5 lumbar. The two immovable bones are the sacrum and coccyx which are cemented together. In early life the sacrum is composed of five vertebra and the coccyx four. As life advances these nine vertebra fuse and form the sacrum and coccyx.

The spinal cord rises from the brain. From between each vertebra a pair of sensory and motor nerves are sent to the various organs and tissues of the body.

It is with correct alignment of the spine that the chiropractor has to do. If from any cause the spinal bones move out of alignment a pressure upon the emerging nerves will follow. The organ to which that particular nerve runs will suffer. Adjustment of the bones to a normal position, the chiropractor claims, will eliminate pain and disease. The growing favor of chiropractic and the increasing number of practitioners would seem to indicate a basis in fact for the newest of the healing branches.

Chiropractic was discovered and developed, it is claimed, by D. D. Palmer of Davenport, Iowa, along about the year 1896. There has been some controversy over the point of discovery. Missionary reports from the Sandwich Islands tell of a peculiar religious custom, as they thought, when they observed a naked native prostrate himself upon two mounds of sand, one under his chest, the other upon which his thighs rested, and a native walk up and down his spine with his bare feet. This would show that exercise of the spinal muscles and movements of the vertebra were early resorted to. At any rate, Dr. Palmer gave to the world one of the first books dealing with the subject. He discovered the fact that displaced vertebra cause disease quite by accident. He was formerly a magnetic healer and in this capacity treated a janitor who was very deaf. One day, the story goes, he noticed the third dorsal vertebra was considerably higher than the other bones of this man's spine. He thought there might be some connection between this displacement and the janitor's deafness. He prevailed upon his patient to allow him to attempt to put it back even with the rest. The patient feared that he might be killed in the process, but being reassured, Dr. Palmer thrust it back and instantly the man's hearing returned.

This remarkable occurrence started a chain of reasoning

and he deduced that if a certain dislocated vertebra caused deafness why was it not a logical consequence to have stomach, liver, bowel, heart troubles, and even paralysis from the same cause? He began the study of the spinal nerves and learned their ramifications. He experimented on many subjects and got marvelous results. He performed remarkable cures and then postulated that 95 per cent of all diseases came from what is known as sub-luxated vertebrae, that is, a lesion less than a luxation, and the other 5 percent was due to traumatism or accident.

Of course, this was and is today, disputed, but the fact remains that many marvelous cures are accompanied by skillful adjustments.

Toothache, earache, neuritis, rheumatism, indigestion, bowel and liver trouble, frequently disappear, as if by magic, under proper adjustment.

Many forms of paralysis, such as hemiplegia, paraplegia, paralysis agitans, chorea and torticollis have yielded to chiropractic ministrations, it is said.

One of the theories advanced by some thinkers along chiropractic lines is that health is dependent upon temperature. The nerves having motor, sensory and trophic attributes, a pressure, causing a disturbance of these functions would cause one of two things to happen—a super-normal or sub-normal temperature. If above normal, a fever ensues; if below normal, one of the various forms of paralysis, each manifesting itself differently in proportion to the amount of pressure. In other words, there are but two diseases, fevers and paralysis. Fevers then, according to this theory, can be reduced quickly by adjustment of one or two vertebra definitely known to control the heat supply and that paralysis may be cured by adjusting at the point of lesion.

Chiropractic diagnosis and symptomatology differ widely from the orthodox schools. The method of diagnosis differs and the symptoms are the result of certain defined and mathematical points of sub-luxations.

There has been stubborn opposition to the growth of chiropractic on the part of the older established schools, which had the laws stringently made to exclude practically all practice of any new healing cult. Chiropractors have been jailed and persecuted in nearly every state. On the whole, through a well-knit organization of defense, headed by an able lawyer, Sol Long, members of the national association fare less severely and in many instances are discharged, than in the earlier days of the budding craft.

Formerly a few weeks was sufficient for the well-informed on anatomy to qualify for chiropractic service, but today the big schools require a three to four years course of study. Many states now license chiropractors the same as allopaths, homeopaths, and the osteopaths.

A persevering fight is being made for medical freedom and the test of time will determine whether chiropractic will continue to live and flourish or decline and die.

From a health point of view more should be known of chiropractic. Knowledge of the human body is essential and when once the nervous organism is better understood by the laymen fewer aches and pains will be suffered by a fearful and ignorant people, and the less overworked and underpaid doctors would be called upon to render doubtful services.

Chiro should be known by members of the family, not alone because of a fear-removing power, but for the ability to remove small pains and the necessity of knowing how to live correctly. Horse doctors should know something of spinal adjustments. Perhaps if veterinaries became proficient, they would displace all other kinds of doctors. They go at things in the right way. When they are called to minister to

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The Value of Sabotage

By C. E. Payne

THE acts of workers who are employed for wages, and which go by the general name of "Sabotage," have two aspects. The aspect that presents itself to employers is one of destruction of property and violation of contracts, while the other aspect presents itself to the workers as so fundamentally necessary that it is accepted and practiced by them without question.

It is not to be expected that an employer can see an act of sabotage in any other light than as an act of pure viciousness. To interfere in any way with the profit an employer hoped to make out of a venture can not be considered kindly by that employer. And so long as the net returns to be derived from an enterprise are the only considerations, this view is correct.

But there is another consideration than that of net returns. There are the workers themselves. If the wage workers are to be at all considered by any standard permissible in civilization, sabotage takes on an entirely different aspect. It then becomes a means to an end, and that end is the physical and mental preservation of the worker.

If (an unsurmountable "if") all employers were absolutely just, there would be no need for sabotage. In that event there would be no employers, and all workers would exchange their products on an equal basis according to the necessary labor time involved in their production. But some employers are not absolutely just. Some are so manifestly unfair that it is necessary for those who work for them to use some form of self-protection.

It is this self-protection, in whatever form, that is known by the general name of sabotage. Many times the sabotage is so crude that it results in the wanton destruction of property, while at other times it is unwisely used and but reacts on the one who practiced it. A shift boss in a mine may order a timber set in a careless manner because it will take too much time to set it properly, but though it is set in an unsafe manner it will result for a time in an additional production of ore.

For the miner to reduce the production of ore by taking the necessary time to set the timber properly is an act of sabotage, and one that is necessary for the physical well-being of the miner by avoiding broken bones.

In one respect, the formation of a labor union and making it function on the job, at the point of production, is an act of sabotage. Any act that is consciously done by the workers for their own self-protection, but contrary to the wishes of the employer, is an act of sabotage. Many unions have taken the eight hour work day when their employers wished them to work ten or twelve hours per day, and the mere taking of this two hours or more for themselves was an act of sabotage. It interfered with the wishes and profits of the employer, but was a necessity for the physical and mental well-being of the workers.

Whether the time was taken from the work day desired by the employer with or without his knowledge is immaterial; the mere fact that the workers take it against the will of the employer is an act of sabotage, because it interferes with the profits of the employer.

So long as there are employer and employee, wage labor and capitalistic production, the employers will in the very nature of things demand a constantly accelerating production per man for the purpose of increasing profits.

At the same time, the workers will resist this tendency of capitalism with every means at their command, and so long as they are given wages instead of the ownership of the pro-

duct, they will go to the other extreme of reducing production as far as they can and still retain their jobs. Having no material interest in the product, the question of right or wrong will appeal to them only in the abstract, and not in concrete form as it would if the workers owned the product itself.

Having no material interest in the things produced under the capitalistic system, but only in themselves and the wages they may receive, it naturally follows that the workers will use such means as are at their command to maintain their wages at the highest point and themselves in the best condition. It is a matter of self-preservation, and is too vital a matter to be left to the tender mercy of a profit-seeking employer.

Sabotage is a fact in modern production for profit, and philosophizing and law making will not abolish or alter it. The only workers who will not practice it are those who are in such a "dim-eyed, narrow-chested state of being" that they are no longer able to protect themselves, and have even lost their desire to do so.

* * *

Victor Hugo on the Mob

"Foex urbis" Cicero exclaimed; mob, Burke adds indignantly; a crowd, a multitude, a population, these words are quickly uttered; but no matter! What do I care that they go barefoot? They cannot read; all the worse. Will you abandon them on that account? Will you convert their distress into a curse? Cannot light penetrate these masses? Let us revert to that cry of light and insist upon it. Light, light! Who knows whether this opaqueness may not become transparent? for are not revolutions themselves transfigurations? Come, philosophers,—teach, enlighten, illumine, think aloud, speak loudly, run joyfully into the sunshine, fraternize with the public places, announce the glad tidings, spread pamphlets around, proclaim the right, sing the Marseillaise, sow enthusiasm, and pluck green branches from the oaks! Make a whirlwind of the idea! This crowd may be sublimated, so let us learn how to make use of that vast conflagration of principles and virtues which crackles and bursts into flame at certain hours. These bare feet, these naked arms, these rags, this ignorance, this abjectness, this darkness may be employed for the conquest of the ideal. Look through the people and you will perceive the truth; the vile sand which you trample underfoot, when cast into the furnace and melted, will become splendid crystal, and, by its aid, Galileo and Newton discover planets.

* * *

Attacked by Pygmies

Scott Nearing has been indicted on the charge of violating certain provisions of the Espionage act, and is now under bail. The specific charge is that of distributing a pamphlet written by Nearing entitled "The Great Madness," in which he advances the theory that the United States was shoved into the war by Big Business.

Irrespective of whether this particular theory of Nearing's is right or wrong, we wish to say that Nearing is ten times as big a man as any of his persecutors, and when his cowardly detractors have been forgotten, he will long be remembered as one of the great emancipators of the race.

—A. S.

The World Federation After the War

By Walter Thomas Mills Author of "Democracy and Despotism."

THE World War must result in some one of three things, a world federation, a world conquest, or universal chaos and disorder. A world federation would make the world safe for democracy and provide a democracy that would be safe for the world. A world conquest would deprive the world of all safeguards, and make all lands subject to the unhindered mastery of the war lords. Universal chaos and disorder would mean the collapse of civilization and long centuries of slow and painful work in the rebuilding of a ruined world.

What are the chances for a world federation, and a real world-wide democracy? This question is three-fold. What changes must take place as a result of the war (1) within the nations (2) between the nations if a democratic federation is to result, and (3) what is the war likely to accomplish in these particulars?

The great collective interests among men are found in their educational activities, in the land, the labor, the credits, the transportation, the manufacturers, and the markets, which are of such a nature that they must be collectively carried on and hence ought to be collectively managed in behalf of the common good. The manner of the organization and management of these great social interests in any country, determines the democratic or despotic nature of its institutions. This is true because the powers which prevail in the control of these great social services always prevail in the control of the political machinery.

It is absurd to suppose that the people in any country who tamely submit to the despotic organization and control of these great social activities at home, would ever contend with any great degree of sincerity or efficiency for democracy in international relations.

I

IN view of these considerations, what are the things which are essential to the creation and support of a real democracy within any country?

(1) The schools must be made free from the control of great private interests. As long as these interests control the great instruments of social service in industry and commerce; they will control the schools, and use them to provide effective servants in their own undertakings, and to defend the wrongs of their own monopolies, and this means the end of sincerity in instruction and freedom in investigation.

The liberation of the schools from the dictation of the great private interests will come unsought when all great private monopolies, with private interests directly opposed to the common good, shall have been converted into democratic rather than despotic forms of organization and management.

(2) Land values are the creation of society. Land values are created year by year by those who make the lands, location and natural resources more or less available for the use of men. As all create these values, all should share in their benefits. This can be accomplished only by a tax for social purposes on these unimproved land values, and at the same time exempting from social claims in the form of taxes of any sort, all stock, tools, improvements, personal property—in fact, all values created by any individual.

This would make an end of land monopoly, and an end of the despotic relations between the landlord and the tenant at once and for all time.

(3) Labor has everywhere ceased to be simply a matter of

private concern. Every government on earth is fixing the hours and remuneration of workers in some one or more of the great industries. In all countries receiverships take possession of "unemployed estates"—that is, bankrupt enterprises, in order so to administer these properties as to avoid the "wasting of estates."

Every day it is made clearer that the unemployment of labor also involves the "wasting of estates"—and of life more precious than the estates. If the state can attach and hold property in defiance both of the owner and of his creditors, in order to "protect estates," it can attach and provide jobs for the protection both of estates and of life more precious than the estates.

The organization of industry for the express purpose of employing all labor on just terms, and without interference with the conviction, associations, or personal affairs of the workers, is essential to the common good. This can never be accomplished under private monopoly control of the great social services. Public enterprise in the place of every unavoidable private monopoly is the only way of escape.

(4) Credit is the essential in the exchange of goods, in the enlargement and improvement in the machinery of production as is land itself. Credit is nothing other than a responsible system of accounting under which producers can expend their products in advance of returns to be obtained from the final delivery of some sort of goods or services. It is necessary, in order to complete the processes of production and exchange.

The creation of wealth is the foundation of all credits. The "delivery of the goods" is the only method by which credits can be finally cancelled and "satisfied." All credits that are honest and justifiable are based on goods ready to deliver, on goods in process of production, or on an enlargement of the means of production, and hence on more goods to be produced. The credit of a country or a community is the creation of all those who create wealth or render service of all sort in return for which others will surrender any share of their income.

All useful people together create the credit of the world. All gamblers, speculators, and swindlers, destroy, absorb, or render hazardous this credit created by the useful workers. As long as credit can be withheld from those who have goods or are ready to produce goods, or can be withheld from one and extended to another on easier terms, or can be used as an instrument of extortion or oppression, so long the private masters of the public credit will hold in their hands the weal or woe of all useful people, and they will do that in the behalf of those who are themselves worse than useless.

Credits withheld from gamblers and extended to all others at the cost of the service rendered, is of fundamental importance to real democracy.

(5) Transportation is as fundamental to the existence of the state as is the circulation of the blood to the existence of the man. Whoever is able to control the transportation of goods is able to control the nation. All countries except the United States have adopted the public ownership of the railroads. This country, one of the greatest laggards among all the countries, in the democratic management of its great social services, stands alone in this respect among all the nations of the earth.

Under a real democracy the whole transportation service

including telephones, telegraphs, express packages, goods and passengers, by truck, railway or steamship line,—all the way from producer to consumer, must be freed from private management in the interest of private graft, and provided at cost and on equal terms to all.

(6) There are a few great manufacturing undertakings like steel, oil, sugar, and the like, which are as complete monopolies in their nature as any of the others. These, too, must be publicly owned and administered in the behalf of all if real democracy is to escape the corruption and extortion of private interests.

(7) The same may be said of the markets. There is no place where wasteful methods on the one hand and monopoly extortion on the other, places a heavier burden on real industry and honest trade, than in the privately owned and monopolized markets. Here, again, public enterprise in the place of private monopoly has been found the world over to be the only relief from extortion, and the only pathway to democracy.

These changes must be wrought within the various nations before the world can have the national material out of which to construct an international democracy.

II

THESE changes taken for granted, what will still remain as necessary changes between the nations if the world democracy is to prevail?

(1) International boundary lines must be made secure, not by fortifications, or vast armies, organized and controlled by the separate nations interested in extending boundaries, or in controlling territories, either by force or by intrigue, beyond their own boundary lines.

Instead of this, international boundary lines must be made secure by the joint action, not of any league of any share of the nations, but by the joint action of all the nations, this action to be supported by an international army and navy able to make good its protection as against all other interests whatsoever.

(2) International trade relations including the freedom of the seas, of all waterways connecting the seas, as the Kiel, the Suez and the Panama, must be made answerable only to an international authority composed of all nations.

(3) The old diplomacy must be abolished. Bargains between any of the nations as affecting any other nations, whether secret or open, must be made impossible. A United States of the World must succeed the quarreling nations, and tariffs, special treaties, or any advantages or concessions from any one country in behalf of any other, must be made as impossible as our national constitution has made them impossible between our several states.

(4) Every one of these international necessities, if international democracy is to prevail, requires the creation of a world government, or a world federation, or a league of nations or whatever one may choose to call it, just so it is democratic in its character, and is composed of representatives who are themselves made directly responsible to the public will within the nations which they represent.

(5) Any settlement of this war which does not involve these provisions or a substantial advance towards them, will result only in a temporary postponement of the work of international slaughter, until at last the world shall learn that woe only can await international alliances, nations, states or cities "founded in blood."

III

FINALLY, what effect will the war have on hastening the conditions within the nations essential to the creation of

these relations between the nations and so hastening the coming of a world federation, democratic in its character and built by negotiation and not by conquest?

It is probably true that no great war in history has been accompanied by a more marked series of surprises and disappointments on the part of the nations most directly involved in it, than has been true of this war.

All of the expectations and all of the military programs at first planned by all of the European nations, have met with disappointment and defeat.

Now this is historically true: Military undertakings, just because of the nature of warfare, must necessarily be despotic in organization and in direction. Victorious countries have always tended to become more despotic as the result of victories. Countries "defeated in war almost always reconstruct their internal affairs with the result that the more democratic forces displace the despotic powers discredited because defeated in a foreign war. For instance, in the last war between Germany and France, victorious Germany became more despotic, while defeated France repudiated her monarchy and advanced to a republic.

In all of the European countries now at war, there have been frequent reorganizations of cabinets, and further reorganizations seem near at hand, and so far, in every shifting of the authorities, the more democratic forces have everywhere been given a stronger position within the several countries.

It is impossible to conceive of a final settlement of the world war except upon the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities." If this shall actually occur, both the central powers and the allies, will face defeat of their determination to make anew the map of the world.

The battle fronts of all Europe have been drawn along the iron mines of France and the forests, oil fields, grain fields, manganese mines, and other natural resources of other countries, clamored for by the industrial masters within one country and demanded by them at the expense of the industrial masters of the other countries. Each day that passes adds to the determination of the warring parties and makes better the chances that neither party in the end will be able to make good its purpose to profit through international plunder.

If the war terminates by conquest, international plunder and a world despotism cannot help but follow. If it terminates in any other way it will be to the advantage of democracy between the nations because it will enormously advance the power of democratic forces within the nations, and this must make for a world federation on a democratic basis.

Once this federation is seriously undertaken, its work will be effective in reconstructing international relations on a democratic basis, just in the proportion that democratic forces shall be able to make an end of industrial and commercial despotism within their own countries.

World conquest as the result of the war would mean international plunder between the nations, and monopoly robbery within the nations on a larger scale than the world has ever known.

World peace without conquest, but effected by negotiation as the result of the final collapse of the military programs within the nations, would make an end of further wars, because the only way world peace by negotiation could be effected would be on the basis of some kind of an international agreement creating some kind of an international authority which hereafter would protect alike all international boundaries and provide for international trade between all states and direct access to all natural resources on a basis of

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How Can We Make The World Safe For Democracy?

By Dr. A. E. Briggs

THERE is no more commendable ambition than to "make the world safe for democracy." With democracy comes all the liberties for which our forefathers were supposed to have fought.

What is the object of democracy and what the object of tyranny?

The ultimate object of democracy is that the workers shall enjoy the product of their toil. The object of a tyranny is that those who do not toil may enjoy the product of the toil of others.

A free press and free speech are essentials of democracy. Without these a democracy is unthinkable. The only object of denying or abridging these rights is to more firmly establish a plutocracy that one class shall work and that another class may shirk.

The only good in the world is to establish a brotherhood; "to make the world safe for democracy." The only good is to destroy every tyranny that democracy may arise in its stead. The only good in the world is to break the fetters riveted upon us by political and industrial slave-masters and return to the people a free and unincumbered earth, including the air and sunshine.

To deny these liberties is to make the world safe for plutocracy. The only object of any government, except a democracy, is to appropriate to shirkers the wealth created by workers.

There is no democracy without industrial democracy. Political democracy is but half of democracy. There is no democracy, but Socialism. There can be no real freedom in the world without industrial democracy which assures to the workers their social product. Every other form of government is a system of slavery. The purpose of every other form of government is to plunder those who toil. Call it what you may. Call it chattel slavery; call it serfdom; call it feudalism; or call it wage slavery. Every other form is to appropriate the product of labor without producing it. Every other form is to promote parasitism.

"To make the world safe for democracy" we must first give the people a vision. We must make them appreciate justice, freedom, and make them despise autocracy, tyranny, plutocracy. In old Russia, when the monster denied free speech and a free press it aroused a burning passion for these rights and in the conflict the monster went down. To drive liberty underground is to make it a passion and to make it grow. It engenders a contempt for such a government and a desire for a decent world.

These two passions make Russia today, the most promising land of the earth.

Will America, in the face of history, follow the crooked path of old Russia? If she does, then a new America will arise to greet the new Russia and the "world will be safe for democracy."

With the workers sent to the dungeon or to the gallows on paid testimony and human beings burned at the stake while a supine and bankrupt government is pleading its helplessness, a people purified in the burning caldron of autocracy are not likely to worship.

With free speech and a free press a people may slowly, very slowly, be educated in economic justice. With men drawn and quartered at the behest of the men who own, with a constitution decreed to be "but a scrap of paper," with

"courts of justice" that are but such in name, with every man's life or job in jeopardy at the will of the men who own, will liberty come from a spark? Tyranny combined with an empty stomach (and it is never over-full) is a combination that will sooner or later educate the people and make them know that they need not compromise with tyrants, but vote for and construct a decent system.

Some ardent patriot may take offense at my reflection on the system under which we live, a system that begins by making every individual and every nation under it industrial enemies of every other, and ends in wholesale murder. Such a system is certainly not a practical system, for society is not organized with the purpose to destroy itself. There are but two systems, individualism and collectivism, under which society can exist or a combination of these two. Evolution has slowly carried us toward collectivism until the war gave it a great impetus and today we are face to face with state socialism. The whole world is.

The brilliant John Spargo, ex-socialist, afflicted with that most infectious malady, pseudoblepsia, is widely quoted in the kept press to the effect that Great Briatrain, France and the United States are not afflicted with militarism, but are fighting for a real democracy.

If they are, let them say so. If they will say so, without any strings on their words, every socialist in the land, and in all lands, will join in the last great fight.

To the wars of the world, socialists are conscientious objectors, that is, they object to fight over and over the old fight for "victory," for territory, for indemnities, and for the trade supremacy; but they would all join in the last fight for the brotherhood that has for ages been the vision of philosophers and is, today, becoming the vision of those who toil. The workers see that "to make the world safe for autocracy or for plutocracy" the world must repeatedly become a slaughter pen. This is no sleeping vision of the workers but a real ocular vision with no illusions.

Then, what shall we do to make the world safe for democracy? First, when we declare for a democracy, let us sprinkle over the earth a little democracy, and then fight for a democracy. Then conscription will not be needed, because every man with red blood will be on hand to fight the last fight for a real civilization.

The socialists of the world deplore the fact that this world tragedy is necessary to permit us to break the shackles of capitalism. In season and out, we preached the brotherhood of man, and, in scorn, those who hurled back at us the term "idealist."

Our President has now accepted the socialist solution of the problem of universal peace and has proclaimed it to the world. The socialists of the world stand with him and with the Russian and German socialists against a separate peace, for the death of kaiserism, not only in Germany, but in America as well.

Let our allies get together, emphasize President Wilson's words, and no doubt we shall have the socialists of Germany with us in the last great fight. What the German socialists want is what our President wants and what I want.

If President Wilson puts over the peace program of the socialists, compelling not only the Central Powers, but our allies to accept it, it will make him the greatest man in the world's history up to this time.

What Is the Outlook For A United States of the World?

TWO years ago the outlook for a realization of the Social Revolution was dark and despairing. In March 1917, it broke upon the world in Russia. The definite idea of working class emancipation that had been germinating in the womb of society for nearly seventy years at last burst forth into actuality—with the groping insecurity of new birth. In the labor pains of a world-wide cataclysm, the first proletarian government was born—THE FOUNDATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD WAS LAID.

Despite the gloom and uncertainty which temporarily hover above the great people's movement of Russia, the Revolution cannot be crushed—cannot be checked. The idea of Socialism could not be killed in nearly three-quarters of a century of oppression, persecution and terrorism by the despots of Europe in their ascendancy; much less can the vitalized fact of a rising proletarian power be broken by the frenzied defenders of a dying system.

The long suffering masses of Russia have tasted the elixir of freedom. They have experienced an awakening, and can never again be forced back into the bursting chains of bondage.

But more than this, the Revolution they started will grow. It IS growing. It spreads throughout Europe—and, more slowly, throughout the world. The desperate arrogance of decadent masters cannot conceal the threatening, inevitable upheaval that impends. The spark will soon be furnished to loose the general uprising. Then will commence the great emancipation—the socializing of society, the democratizing of industry, the humanizing of man.

The ultimate United States of the World will be the work of tomorrow, as it was the dream of yesterday. The beginning has been made. The job is big. But remember what two short years have brought, and who will dare deny the workers of their rightful heritage?

—WILLIAM J. FIELDING.

* * *

I DO not oppose the creation of the United States of the World. Because this seems to be in evolutionary order, as a means of defence against a breaking up, it may come. But what I say is, that it will not work. The reason this will fail, the reason all other efforts of a mass nature have failed is that dependence is placed on organization rather than organism. Organisms function; organizations administer. The one is natural, the other artificial. Because the one is natural, it operates smoothly. Because the other is artificial, it is a matter of force, of compulsion. Its inevitable end is failure.

At the end of every great historical cycle—and we are now at that point in history—the existing form of government seeks to strengthen itself by doubling up. Therefore, there comes a period of conquest: the world empire is involved. The dream of the United States of the World is one with the Roman empire of a former world, and one with the idea of German dominance and Anglo-Saxon dominance now. Even when the world empire comes, it suddenly disappears, much as Alexander's and Napoleon's empires went to pieces in other days. The fact is, the closing of a historical age is a period of involution rather than of evolution, just as it is at the end of the annual year, when leaves fall. We are, therefore, to have a "rolling together like a scroll"; and "they shall be changed."

Yet through all the change that is now in progress and

changes that are yet to come, there is running a social consciousness that, unperceived, is developing, not so much an organization, as a social organism. That is the finality. It will be union, without the state. It will embrace the world without conquering or compelling it. It is one with the dream of the carpenter of Gallilee—a kingdom of Heaven, recognized, just as we now have and recognize the kingdom of vegetation, of animal, and of mineral; only, this will embrace all, with place for each. The United States of the World thinks only of man.

—LINCOLN PHIFER, Editor "New World."

* * *

THE outlook for a United States of the World depends much upon how far such a state is going to be democratic; that is, how far the peoples of the earth of all races and colors are to have representation and voice. At present most advocates of a world state are thinking only of white nations or possibly they are willing to admit a colored nation like Japan or even China, because they fear their power; but there has been almost no suggestion that the thousands of millions of India, of Africa, and the islands of the sea have any voice or vote.

If an attempt should be made to make simply a white World State this state would economically and politically prey upon the black world. The result would be the same jealousy and ownership and exploitation that have done so much to make the present war. Eventually, such jealousy would disrupt the State. On the other hand, if all nations and races were admitted and if strenuous effort was made to prevent exploitation within the state of the weak and backward we could easily look forward to a Federation of the World.

—W. E. B. DU BOIS.

* * *

IT would have been a hardy optimist who would have predicted in 1913 that the United States of the World could be organized successfully in the twentieth century. It would be a hardened pessimist who would claim that no one now living would witness its realization. Such is the new faith born of the world war.

If the world does not seem very safe yet for democracy it is getting daily more unsafe for aristocrats, autocrats, junkers and plutocrats. The war should not be allowed to end until a tentative federal organization of the world is effected. The war will be the greatest crime in history if the unparalleled bloodshed does not wash away every barrier that keeps not only individual nations but individual people from complete self-realization.

That does not justify a Lansdowne peace or a hand-me-down peace from Germany. It does not mean an Irish Republic or a Finnish Republic. These are reactionary proposals as belated as the secession of South Carolina from the United States of America. Self-realization does not mean that Germany may retain a military organization to terrorize the world or Britain a Suez Canal, or Turkey a Dardanelles, or America a Panama Canal, to throttle the world. Nothing can be counted necessary for self-realization which hinders the life of others. Federalism guarantees home rule, which is local self-government within the larger organization.

The International Postal Union is the most perfect world federalism; it only needs to be extended to all foreign commerce, leaving to each group the local government it chooses.

That is the way the postal service of the world is organized today. It is not imposing government from the outside to demand the abolition of autocracy in Germany or freedom of the seas, or the federal, democratic organization of Central Europe. There is no longer an outside and inside; the world at peace was one in markets; the world at war is one in bloodshed; it will be one in government as soon as radicals get the world vision.

The Russians do not speak of the Russian revolution, says Lincoln Steffens, but of The Revolution. Yet they sold out the Ukrainians, the Estonians, the Letts and the Finns. The world does not need revolutionists now; it needs organizers; the revolution is already on. An inconclusive peace is a counter-revolution. The United States of the World is at hand. Shall we be quitters or federalists?

—CHARLES ZUEBLIN.

* * *

ALL the Socialist factions, especially the 'verbal revolutionists, are aiding nationalism against internationalism—from the British Laborites to the Russian Bolsheviks, and German minority. On the other hand, President Wilson is moving in the direction of internationalism, though he has not got very far yet.

The future of internationalism is, therefore, bright. The future of the traitors to internationalism is, I hope and believe, dark—though they still have a vast power for evil, which may become greater before some stupendous historic overturn—a genuine revolution—has swallowed them up.

—WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING.

* * *

SOME kind of world organization seems to me inevitable after this war. The only question is, shall it be a capitalist organization or a Socialist? And I should say a great part of this depends upon the amount of political judgment which the Socialists display in the present crisis.

The word "practical" is one which has been poisoned through the misuse of capitalist politicians. Nevertheless it is necessary to be practical just now, for we are confronted by a desperate emergency, and we cannot change the facts by continual repetition of words, however blessed.

It is an old saying that the Devil can quote Scripture for his own purposes. It is only quite recently that the horrible possibility has dawned upon the Socialist movement that the

Devil can quote Karl Marx for his own purposes. What I have reference to is the success of the Kaiser in betraying the Russian Revolution by the use of our best proletarian formulas. If the same plan succeeds to any extent in America, the Socialists of this country will not play as large a part in the International settlement as I should like to see them play.

—UPTON SINCLAIR.

* * *

PARDON a preacher for intruding upon so brief an argument as this, a story. But it is a preacher's story, and needs not to be told at length, so many know it.

The boy was digging furiously in the fence corner for the wood-chuck. "Think you'll get it?" asked an observing neighbor, a cynical negative in his tone. But the boy without stopping to so much as look up replied conclusively, "Got to! Preacher's comin' to dinner, and we haint got nothin' to eat!"

The United States of America came to pass, not as the dream of idealists, but as a matter of plain necessity. Our stupid school histories still tell us almost nothing of the seven years following the Revolutionary War. It is so much easier to exploit the heroics of that war. But John Fiske in his memorable monograph, "The Critical Period in American History," has shown that it was not our "successful" war with Great Britain that made us a nation, but it was the economic demoralization of the years that followed the war, and the fact that there was no other way out.

There isn't any other way out of the mess of modern capitalism than the way of some sort of world federation. We may blunder around for years before we find that way, without even a United States of Europe. We may get two or three great "confederated" groups, instead of one federated family. And we may get a United States of the World which will be so far political rather than industrial as to prove a dubious benefit to the working masses of mankind. But we're bound to get federation on a world scale or the devil himself, who has already come to dinner and seems inclined to prolong his stay, will eat every nation out of house and home.

And eventually, let us hope after no very long delay, we shall have something more than "United States;" we shall have a real co-operation of the workers of the world.

—ROBERT WHITAKER.

The Deadly Parallel

"Those who oppose me, I will crush." (The Kaiser, in speech at Brandenburg, 1890).

"My grandfather, by his own right, set the Prussian crown upon his head, once more distinctly emphasizing the fact that it was accorded him by the WILL OF GOD ALONE, and that he thus looked upon himself as the chosen instrument of Heaven and, as such, performed his duties as regent and sovereign." (The Kaiser, in speech at Koenigsburg, August 25, 1910).

"All written constitutions are scraps of paper." (Frederick William IV in speech from throne, April 11, 1847).

"It is said that there are leaders of the working classes in our empire who would trample on the privileges of those who were appointed by God on high to govern people. Such men are Germany's worst enemies."—Bernhardi.

"Habeas Corpus be damned! We'll give them post mortems instead!" (Adjutant General Sherman Bell of the Colorado Militia, defying the orders of the civil courts.)

"The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, NOT BY LABOR AGITATORS, BUT BY THE CHRISTIAN MEN TO WHOM GOD, IN HIS INFINITE WISDOM, HAS GIVEN CONTROL OF THE PROPERTY INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY." (George M. Baer, mine-owner, during the coal strike of 1912.)

"TO HELL WITH THE CONSTITUTION!" Major McClelland of Colorado Militia, in coal strike of 1904.)

"Men who object to what they style 'government by injunction' are in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors. They are not in sympathy with men of good minds and civic morality."—Theodore Roosevelt.

National Non-Resistance?

A Reply To Jessie Wallace Hughan, Ph. D.

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN'S article entitled "National Non-Resistance," which was published in the December-January "Western Comrade," ended with this contention: "Can a nation afford to be non-resistant? If we face the facts coolly, studying each possible disaster without panic and without sentimentality, the answer is YES!"

Miss Hughan does not face the facts. The non-resistance of Christ achieved crucifixion; Nero's lions ate Christians for breakfast; millions of non-resistant Armenians have been murdered, ravished, starved, beaten, plundered and imprisoned by the Turks during years past down to the present when they operate under German officers; Holland and Switzerland, if non-resistant, would be German states today, forced at the point of the bayonet to fight for Prussianism. There are ten thousand examples in the world's history of the falsity of her conclusion.

There are many times, to be sure, when resistance has proved to be martyrdom, more expensive than non-resistance, but those instances only establish the necessity of EFFECTIVE resistance rather than ill-advised and futile resistance. All of which serves to emphasize the horrible possibilities of the oppression of the mighty over the weak, the dominating over the oppressed of human kind. It is with a delicious ingenuousness the essayist denies the Socialist contention that railroad labor is underpaid and capitalism is exploiting the rest of the earth: "Our laborers are habituated to the **highest** of wages—our railroads complaining of minus net incomes." Again: "Our natural resources have **long been** in the hands of **private exploiters**." And the naive conclusion of this, her only pretense at argument, is the following: "THE POSSESSION OF OUR COUNTRY BY ANOTHER WOULD BE LITTLE MORE VALUABLE THAN THE POSSESSION OF A BANKBOOK BY AN AFRICAN HEAD HUNTER!"

With the examples of Prussian Kultur and "Schrecklichkeit" before your eyes, in Belgium, France, Italy, Serbia and Roumania, with the threats of Prussian leaders to make America pay for the whole war of conquest of the rest of the world, can one not conceive how Prussianism is prepared to profit from possession of America? They levied a contribution of \$100,000,000 upon a little city of Belgium, threatening destruction and wholesale slaughter of inhabitants if not obeyed. They could levy and they would levy, ten billions of dollars against New York City, and a hundred billions against this country. What would prevent? Why could they not take over the coal mines, the iron mines, the farms, the cities—as they do in Belgium and France today, massacre indiscriminately the women and the babies and the men who refuse to labor for a pittance or who refuse to obey their laws? Where is the consistency in claiming possession of property to be of no advantage, and in the same breath proclaiming the crimes of capitalism and the advantage to it of the ownership of property?

At the beginning of this world war, we who held some of the old-fashioned ideals of innate decency and justice and honor, asked ourselves that question, "Why does Prussianism want to rule—what can it gain?" And we found the answer in the conquered countries. We have found the answer in the baby impaled on a German bayonet because the mother hesitated a minute about bringing out all the food in the house at the demand of a Hun. The answer is found in the murder of a Belgian mayor for lack of funds; in the wholesale murder of the Lusitania incident. We find the answer in the government exposures of Prussian purposes in this war; in Gerard's

writings; in the statements of a thousand reliable witnesses who KNOW.

The waste, the suffering, the grief, the horror of war are repulsive to the normal human being; and yet, so far as we can see, the greatest strides in civilization have come through the adherence of peoples to their conceptions of right, resistance to wrong and oppression—war, the result of upholding in unity their conception of pustice.

The average pacifist proclaims to the world his absolute trust in the justice and humanity of the Prussian war lords after three years of treason to Christ and humanity, but has no belief in the honesty and ordinary decency of a member of Congress or any officer of the government of the United States. The Russian Bolshevik who leaves the front and goes home and shoots the owner of the land he lives on, is a good pacifist, while the French socialist who defends his country against the Hun is a traitor to the cause of Democracy, because he is supporting Militarism.

Pacifism is individualism—anarchy. Personally, I like the idea of pacifism, but it is indefensible until the world is made over. The man who defends it invariably contradicts himself and exposes his lack of reason.

Nothing better illustrates the inconsistency of this view than is contained in the editorial column of this same number of the "Western Comrade." Job Harriman first advocates and predicts a great civil war of the classes in Europe, and concludes that the pacifists may be right. Thus, according to this gentleman, the "pacifism" in which the laborer takes up arms against capitalism is perfectly justifiable, while the pacifism in which the laborer takes up arms to defend his country is unjustifiable! That sort of pacifism savors too strongly of anarchy to convince me that it can be right; its logic is of the calibre of the Hun "Kultur."

Pacifism and its attendant isms are mere scholastic hallucination. American citizenship does not desire to be a door-mat for either the Prussian or the slant-eyed celestial, and it will not consent to do so, whether it be ideal or no.

—ALFRED A. SESSIONS.

Miss Hughan's Rebuttal

THE answer by Alfred A. Sessions to my article "Can a Nation Afford to Be Non-Resistant?" demands a reply, even from the pen of "childish innocence." If Mr. Sessions had planned his topics a little more carefully, my reply also might have boasted greater coherence. As it is, however, I will make a feeble attempt to follow his excursions, however far from the issue they may lead.

First, for example, my opponent dodges the case altogether by introducing the instances of Christ and his followers. These noble martyrs were not "nations" at all, least of all "modern industrial nations," and accordingly have nothing to do with the purely economic arguments of my article. Aside from the irrelevancy, however, the examples are indeed unfortunate for the advocate of violence. Physical death was, of course, accepted by these fighters for truth, as it is by the soldier. The question is, which **cause** won the victory? After two thousand years is Christianity or the Roman Empire the survivor?

As to the next example, Armenia, what "childish innocent" has told you that this nation is non-resistant? Ask any Armenian, and he will tell you with martial fervor that the chief reason the Turks have persecuted them is because of fear, lest

the subject race may fight for the enemies of their masters. The newly formed Armenian army furnishes an interesting commentary on this fear.

No other examples of non-resistance are furnished by Mr. Sessions, but their place is taken by an interesting "might have been."

"Holland and Switzerland, if non-resistant . . . would have been forced at the point of the bayonet to fight for Prussianism." Unproved Mr. Sessions, and by the way, genuine non-resistants cannot be forced to fight for anyone, as is witnessed by the 4000 Englishmen jailed as conscientious objectors.

There are ten thousand other examples, my opponent goes on to say, but fails to mention the other 9,997.

On the next point, we thoroughly agree: "The necessity of effective resistance rather than ill-advised and futile resistance." If one is going in for militarism, he might as well do it thoroughly, and not renounce the ideals of brotherhood for nothing. Germany may be brutal, but is at least consistent. I take the liberty, however, of preferring the resistance of intelligent beings rather than of brutes, that of free Russia to that of Belgium.

It is unfortunate that the "answerer" is not more familiar with general economics. If so, he would realize that labor in the United States may be miserably underpaid while yet receiving the highest of wages as compared with the rest of the world, and that the high cost of living which forces these wages upon the capitalist renders it far more profitable for him to invest his accumulations in undeveloped lands. The fact that "capitalism is exploiting the rest of the earth," moreover, does not at all prevent the existence of various degrees of profit in exploitation. If Mr. Sessions doubts that railroads are "complaining" of minus profits it is probably because that esteemed sheet, the "New York Times" may not circulate on the Pacific Coast. Possibly the circumstances that the aforesaid railroads are just now consenting to government control may enable him to see that the palmy days of exploitation by railroads in the United States, as compared with other forms of exploitation, are drawing to a close.

The discussion of fines and indemnities by my opponent suggests regret that he has not given more study to the theories of Norman Angell upon this subject. In "The Great Illusion" and in the multitude of controversial articles growing from it, Mr. Angell has substantiated, so well that it is needless for me to repeat it, his contention that a levy of money and property upon a conquered nation has but slight probability of either harming the paying country or benefiting the one which receives. The stock example of this argument is, of course, the Franco-Prussian indemnity, which left France after ten years industrially better off than Germany.

With regard to the whole matter of property, it is necessary to call attention once more to two considerations: first, that the modern nation, e. g., Germany after the Franco-Prussian war in Alsace, and Great Britain after the Boer war, is not in the habit of destroying the titles to private property, no matter to what extent the process of war has temporarily nullified them; second, that what the modern predatory nation desires is not property, for property in itself is now possessed to a surfeit, but concessions in undeveloped countries in order that its property may be put to profitable use.

Does Mr. Sessions really believe that the answer to the question, "Why does Prussianism want to rule?" is found in the additional facilities for murder so furnished? In a world organized for profits does a nation deliberately sacrifice millions of its wealth for the privilege of impaling babies? Where is your hard common sense, may I ask?

I must touch quickly upon the remaining arguments. This

paper is growing long. Progress comes through struggle. Yes, but struggle is not synonymous with war. The achievements of the labor unions, of British parliamentary government, of socialism, of Christianity, of science, of exploration, have all come through struggle, but where war has occurred it has as often impeded as helped. Was France advanced by the Napoleonic wars, England by the Boer war, America by the Spanish-American, or Germany by the Franco-Prussian? We radicals believe that in all these cases freedom received serious checks, from which it may take generations to recover.

Finally, let us joyfully express our complete agreement upon an important point. Mr. Sessions has my hearty assent to his statement that the pacifism which refuses to bear arms against the kaiser but will engage in civil war to fight capitalism till death savors too strongly of anarchy and of the Hun. Though I realize that in this position I am expressing only myself and not the stand of the socialist party, I am such a genuine pacifist that I refuse to take part in violence for any cause, and believe that wherever the working class has departed from the method of peaceful political and industrial struggle it has retarded the day of emancipation.

Pacifism is not a simple subject and can no more be dismissed with phrases than can socialism. Both are phases of revolution, and our first duty is to disabuse our minds of sentimentality and face the facts.

—JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN, Ph. D.

Liberty Raped

THE CONGRESS of the United States is on the eve of passing one of the most infamous laws that ever befouled a statute book. In all the history of the American nation there never has been a more dastardly hypocritical or a more stupidly dangerous act than the one now pending, making it a felony punishable by twenty years' imprisonment and a fine of \$10,000 to "by word or act support or favor the cause of the German empire or its allies in the present war, or by word or act oppose the cause of the United States therein."

This law, if passed, will be one of the handiest tools ever devised for the subjection of labor.

And this is what we predict will happen:

A periodical which justly and fairly criticizes a government official will be suppressed on the ground that it is hampering the freedom of work in arranging war preparations.

A speaker will be imprisoned twenty years for pointing out the fact that a certain gang of profiteers has been assisted in its plunder by a certain gang of Washington politicians.

And there will be a hundred more cases something similar.

The founders of the American government contemptuously repudiated the theory of the divine right of kings, but a few asinine congressmen seem never to have heard of it. They make it a felony for one man to criticize the actions of another—no matter whether those actions may be highly detrimental to the social welfare, or even to the successful prosecution of the war.

And worse than that—such a law makes it a crime for an employer to kick against a misdemeanor of his employee! For that is exactly the relation that exists between members of Congress and the American people.

The stupidity of such a law is superseded only by its gross insolence. The nauseating nerve of its sponsors is enough to suffuse every liberty-loving American citizen with righteous indignation.

It is high time that a microscopic portion of the salve of democracy that we are endeavoring to rub into the wounds of the world be applied to a few of our own festering social sores.—A. S.

What Esperanto Means to the World

By Creston Clark Coigne

IT frequently happens that a story can be told better by beginning in the middle and working outwards, than by following the custom of starting off with a sketch of the hero's childhood and youth. And when a subject as broad as a movement of world-wide extent is to be confined to a brief article, the smallest attempt to introduce it conventionally might easily use up all the available space and leave the reader wondering what was coming next.

So let us pause a moment in whatever we are doing and run our eyes over the pages of history—to see if perchance they contain any suggestions that we might utilize to the advantage of our many attempts to solve the eternal question of how the people of all nations may be brought to understand that the progress and happiness of one race depends more and more upon the progress and happiness of all races. For almost innumerable have been the deductions drawn by thinking men from the difficult lessons of mankind's incompletely recorded experiences; and there is no doubt that some of the schemes and plans that have thus been evolved for world-betterment will ultimately be of great benefit to our race.

But if we eliminate from our present consideration most of the intricate problems connected with economics or religion, we shall find it greatly to our profit to digress somewhat from the ordinary paths of research and compare the size, number and character of the wars that have been fought between people speaking the same language and the wars that have been waged between people of dissimilar tongues. This much may be learned from the comparison: that while it is undeniably true that civil wars and revolutions have from time to time carried desolation into many lands, yet when their aggregate is contrasted to the international strife that has intermittently continued from thousands of years before the Christian era to the present day, it seems in spite of its actual vastness to dwindle into insignificance. And it is not until we thoroughly appreciate the tremendous and far-reaching meaning of this fact that we begin to realize how true was the utterance of De Tocqueville when, nearly three-quarters of a century ago, he said that "the tie of language is perhaps the strongest and most durable that can unite mankind."

The question of a common language is by no means a new one. During the last two hundred years it has commanded the attention of many of the best minds in Europe, from Leibnitz to Herbert Spencer, and some of the projects to which it has given rise would indeed constitute an interesting study for the psychologist. But of all the plans for an international language that have occupied the thoughts of the "dreamers and doers" of recent generations there is only one that has survived the acid test of time and claims the sole right to the serious consideration of all men and women—it is the invention of Dr. Zamenhof and is known to the world as Esperanto.

As a language, Esperanto came into being under the most favorable auspices—its creator was an adept in at least a score of languages and was fairly conversant with a dozen more. And Dr. Zamenhof was the first man who understood that the more closely a system of speech corresponds to the recognized means of expressing thought, the more readily it may be acquired by the largest number of people. We may call it artificial if we please; but it has been so carefully and nicely adjusted that its use in writing or speaking conveys not the slightest impression of mechanism: it flows softly on, as scholars have said, sounding very much like Spanish or Italian. soft and rich—*simpla, fleksebla, vere internacia!* And yet

science has not given way to beauty, for rigorously logical is the grammar and vocabulary of the international language, and therein lies its chief virtue—its simplicity. At least seventy-five percent of its root words are already known to most European languages, and the few comprehensive rules of grammar that are without any exceptions, make its study a genuine pleasure for most people. This does not mean, of course, that the study of Esperanto is so easy as scarcely to require an effort (the mastery of anything as complex as a human language necessarily takes time and patience), but it is no exaggeration to say that a good knowledge of Esperanto may be obtained by any normal person in less time than it would be possible to gain an insight into the fundamentals of national language. That is one reason why Esperanto is alive and growing today and why it was enabled to survive even the world cataclysm.

The other reason is that the "interna ideo"—the internal idea—of the movement is constructive. World amity as opposed to world enmity; a deeper and more perfect understanding between the various races that is not based on any incoherent pacifist protest that war is "wrong" (as though any sane person doubted it!) but rather upon the firm conviction that the highest interests of the human race are its collective concerns; a conviction that can only come from the intimate, personal knowledge of its truth, gained by the association and co-operation of intelligent men and women the world over through the medium of a common, neutral language that all may learn in addition to their native tongue and that all may speak as equals, knowing that in doing so they are neither foisting their own language and "kultur" upon other races. Nor are they placing themselves at a disadvantage by allowing the nationalists of another race, through its language, to obtain the moral, intellectual and commercial hegemony of the world—a condition that would certainly result from the widespread adoption of any of the great national languages.

In a word, the Esperantists state that a neutral, international language is the fundamental basis upon which the peoples of the world can equally and directly co-operate with one another: **IT IS AN IMPORTANT FIRST STEP IN SECURING A PERMANENT PEACE, FOUNDED UPON THE SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING THAT IS BORN OF THE KINSHIP OF A COMMON SPEECH.** They do not claim that the general acceptance of the international language will cure the ills of the world, for it is simply an instrument to be used by the far-sighted men and women of all nations, and its services are freely at the disposal of all—Socialists, Single Taxers, Bahaists—everyone who recognizes in it a means of strengthening the bonds between nations. As has been said, it is an important first step, and without which the progress of humanity must continue along the narrow nationalistic trail in which it has been moving (and with such disastrous results!) consequently foregoing the benefits to be derived from that broader co-operation which transcends the limitations of nationality and makes us indeed citizens of the world.

With no misgivings the Esperantist looks at the future; for great as are the problems that will arise with the restoration or peace, he knows that as time goes on the demand for an international language will constantly increase, and that the movement of which he is a part alone can supply it. With an efficient world organization under the *Universala Esperanto*

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Co-operation vs. Competition

By Clinton Bancroft

PHILOSOPHERS and romancers from Plato to Bellamy have devised ideal systems and ideal republics, which they believed would bring the greatest happiness to the human race and make of the earth a social and industrial paradise. But I am neither an ideal philosopher nor an ideal romancist; only a practical, prosaic American, with no intention of proposing an ideal system until we have an ideal people to practise it. As long as human nature is the unregenerate compound that it is, there must necessarily be evil in the world. Under any industrial or commercial system there must always be avarice, and greed, and selfishness, and dishonesty, and fraud, all the human weaknesses under whatever guise appearing, and every industrial plan must take these incidents to humanity into consideration or fail. The weaknesses of humanity referred to are the "little rifts within the lute" that must be mended or the music be discord. These evils we will always have with us. I mention this, so that I may not be classed with the philosophic dreamers of the land.

But there is a difference between following a system that legalizes and encourages the vicious qualities of human nature, and following one that condemns and places checks upon them. There is a difference between cropping the crest of overshadowing injustice, and encouraging it to grow. There is a difference between extending a firm, strong grasp to the despairing hand of the submerged unfortunate, and in opening new floodgates upon him. And therein lies the difference between the industrial disease and the industrial remedy. The disease that has fastened itself upon the industrial life of the world is competition, and competition is war, and war results in the defeat and slavery of some, and in the triumph and masterhood of others. And this war is perpetual. It fills the streets with unemployed, the asylums with paupers, and prisons with criminals. The struggle never ceases. The doors of the Industrial Temple of Janus are never closed. And as in the age of force physical wars resulted in the mastering and ruling of the multitude by the few, so in this age of cunning, our industrial, competitive war results in the triumph of the few and the subservience of the many. And in that time, did the best men, the good men, become the masters? Do they now? Does it tend to develop the intellectual and moral best? It does not. It tends to develop those faculties that are required in the struggle—treachery, cunning, scheming, selfishness, avarice, greed. Each in this competitive war dreads poverty, for poverty means defeat, captivity, slavery, and each, therefore, becomes grasping, grinding, over-reaching. He excuses himself by pleading, "one has to live," "business is business," or "if I do not, another will." Yes! the competitive system is indeed, a state of war. And it is because this is true that we have trusts, and combinations, and cabals, and monopoly. And under the competitive wage system it is natural friends who are warring with each other; toiler with toiler; producer with producer. Is that the system for an enlightened community to tolerate in its very midst? Competition means working against each other, and no other construction can be truthfully put upon it. That is the disease. The cure is to work with each other, to co-operate, and that is the remedy. The idea is not new, nor is it claimed that any new fundamental industrial principle has been discovered. But a somewhat more extensive, radical and scientific application of the principles will be proposed. The principle itself is as old as Justice, for it is a part of justice.

Co-operation can not be called an experiment. It has al-

ready passed the experimental stage. Numerous successful co-operative enterprises of large scope and capital have educated the people up to an understanding that it is both practicable and desirable. Grange stores, profit-sharing establishments, creamery companies, building and loan associations, colonies and labor exchanges—all these have contributed to the educative process that has established the practicability and desirability of co-operation in the public mind.

But a great objection to many co-operative associations is, that they do not establish a distinct and understandable, but not too radical minimum of co-operation required, and allow as much in excess of that as the particular individuals concerned think they are able to operate. They frequently require only a pledge to the co-operative idea, leaving to each individual to interpret for himself what that idea is and shall be. Now when it comes to establishing business enterprises on that basis it is very unsatisfactory. Most people want to know at once the most that will be demanded of them in the way of co-operation. And as there are many kinds and degrees of co-operation, an organization that aspires to be national in extent and influence can only require that degree to which the average of the progressive people have been educated.

The essential factor of success in co-operative industries is the good faith and persevering spirit of its members. Confidence more than all else is imperatively required. This, so far as it is personal, our old industrial system has nearly destroyed. Today the normal attitude of men in business towards each other is that of suspicion and distrust. The habit of requiring legal and substantial security has become a social instinct of self defense that is almost functional. It is the greatest barrier to industrial co-operation with which the organizer has to contend. Men will not believe that there are any considerable numbers of their fellow men who will not, directly or indirectly, stoop to some form of exploitation. They require some substantial security against it. They have been educated to this feeling by generations of experience under a system that is especially designed to develop it. Generations of education will be necessary to eliminate it to the degree necessary to insure the confidence required in the purer forms of co-operation. No business involving any considerable numbers of individuals can succeed for any length of time, if based alone on the present confidence of men in each other. Legal and material guarantees of good faith can not be dispensed with under the present state of popular character, conscience and habits. The greater length of time designed for the continuance of such business, the greater the security required that the concern can and will do what it was designed to do.

This is a machine age; and from the standpoint of both law and economic industry, corporations are the most perfect co-operative machines that have ever been constructed. The greatest jurists of the age have been engaged in perfecting and simplifying them; and the best paid legal talent of the times has been employed in constructing them—for capital.

But capital, with characteristic cunning, suppressed the word co-operation, and substituted the word corporation, thereby keeping the people for a long time in ignorance of the fact that through its corporations it was practicing co-operation and communism, even while all the time denouncing the former as impracticable, and the latter an enemy to society. All the time that capital has been constructing and exclusive-

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The Rise of Frank Dunne

By Emanuel Haldeman-Julius

IF the editor were to tell Frank Dunne to write a story about the moon being made of green cheese, he wouldn't ask any silly questions—he'd do it. He would get facts and statistics, interviews and pictures to prove that the moon is made of green cheese. And here's the funny thing about it all; he would believe his own story. He believed every fake he wrote; he believed every lie he told. Yes, Frank Dunne was an ideal newspaperman. Temperamentally, he fit in with the order of things.

A newspaper's policy was Frank Dunne's religion. The editorials were as gospel. He swore by their viewpoint—everything that the paper stood for was right, was just, was as it should be. If he had been told to cover the crucifixion he would have written a story of "a long-haired agitator paying the penalty of his criminal views"; he would have told how "a certain Jesus Christ had incited the people to riot," had said things "against the government," had criticized established institutions and customs"; he would have given the impression that Jesus deserved His fate.

When Dunne covered a strike, the office was always satisfied. There wasn't a man on "The Morning Times" who could write a meaner story than this Frank Dunne. He could sneer at a mass of starving strikers, accuse them of "squandering their salaries on drink," charge them with all manner of crime and violence—yes, he was a favorite in "The Times" office. Even the big chief—one couldn't conceive of a more unpleasant person—always smiled at Frank Dunne and bade him the time of day.

A rare specimen, his 135 pounds throbbed with energy, his sharp eyes were ever on the watch for stuff the office wanted, his ears heard everything; and if they didn't, his imagination would come to the rescue.

This Frank Dunne was the star policy man; whenever anything particularly dirty was wanted, the office could always rely on Dunne, who would write the stuff—and, above all, swear by it. He was extraordinarily able at stories that meant systematic campaigns of publicity, for he could write on the same subject for weeks and weeks at a stretch, and never be at a loss for something to say. A word would often give him enough material for two columns of matter. If there were some sort of a franchise the office was anxious to get for some local kings of finance, Dunne would be set to work on the publicity. He had genius for making the wrong appear right.

Considering that he was a newspaperman, Dunne was fairly well paid. He said he was getting \$40 a week. Of course, he lied, for I knew it for a fact that he was getting \$35. He was always broke because he was always mingling with men of wealth and means and didn't fancy being considered one not of their class. He would just as soon pay for a ten-dollar dinner as not; he wouldn't hesitate to invite some wealthy friends to a champagne supper that would keep him in debt for weeks to come. Dunne loved the brothers of Have; he worshipped them, and nothing pleased him better than to be with them. He was always at some sort of an affair; and he always gave the impression that he belonged there.

Just before Dunne became the star policy man, he fell in love with a girl who worked in a local department store. She was a pretty—no, she was a beautiful girl, just passing nineteen. He took her to the theater a number of times, always treating her as best he knew how; and she, sweet Laura

Knight, appreciated him immensely. She was a poor girl and, I repeat, she worked in a big store—and that means she worked at starvation wages. I believe she got \$6 a week. I'm sure it wasn't more.

Dunne told her many pretty things; he told her he loved her; yes, he even said she was "the best girl in the world." But, he didn't say anything about marriage, though, let it be said in fairness, he thought of it. He really thought it would be a splendid thing to have her as his wife. Yes, she would be the ideal companion for life, he concluded. But, somehow, he felt that Laura Knight was a girl he could always get, so there need be no hurry about marriage. He was convinced that if he didn't marry her she would be a spinster for the rest of her days—there are lots of men who believe that. So, he concluded it would be best for him to wait—maybe a year, possibly two or three, but not longer. So he didn't say anything about marriage. Laura Knight loved him, but she was a retiring sort of girl who didn't know how to use her wonderful charms. Not knowing how to influence him, she let him have his way about things, and as he didn't say anything about marriage, she simply played a waiting game.

Six months later, Dunne married; but he didn't marry Laura Knight. He married an inspired female, a parasite to the core, but everybody thought Dunne was a lucky fellow. Not every reporter has luck enough to marry a rich man's daughter. It happened this way: While at an affair, he was introduced to a young lady who was the daughter of the unpleasant owner of "The Morning Times." This owner—Bennington Fraser—liked Dunne, as I've already mentioned, and when he learned that his daughter and Dunne were friendly he smiled. When he learned, some weeks later, that his daughter would like to become the wife of Dunne, he didn't object.

"Of course," said Mr. Bennington Fraser, "that young fellow hasn't any money, but I tell you he has a future. He knows what's what. He hasn't any money, but he has the push and go that will bring him money. That young fellow is all right."

And he blessed them. And they married. And Dunne forgot about Laura Knight. And Laura Knight cried a little and sobbed a little more, and philosophically decided to make the most of it all.

Dunne became one of the most important men on "The Morning Times"; he became dictator of the policy; he outlined campaigns; he ruled politics; he said what shall be—and usually he had his way. The big chief trusted Dunne's judgment.

The paper was a gold mine. Dunne was on the inside. So Dunne became wealthy. He got mixed up in a number of questionable deals but he wasn't afraid, for he held a mighty club over the enemies—the club of publicity. He could drive any man out of the country, he once boasted.

He got interested in a number of propositions; he invested money in street railway stock; he bought shares in a great manufacturing concern; he even bought a quarter interest in a great department store.

Dunne found that "The Morning Times" was of great help in his business ventures, enabling him to get almost anything he wanted. Of course, when it came to the law-making bodies, he was a terror. All feared him.

But, some people WILL persist in being reformers, Dunne or no Dunne. And it came to pass that a number of reform-

ers got together and formed an organization, with the purpose of going into politics. An opposition paper decided to take up the cudgels for this reform element, and as a result circulation grew for the opposition paper.

This was a distressing state of affairs, though it didn't harm the finances of "The Morning Times"; this paper could always depend on the big advertisers—what more could one wish for? When campaign time came again, Dunne saw that the reformers were getting too strong. They were actually threatening to capture political power; yes, it appeared as though they would capture the powers of government. Dunne's paper fought tirelessly, Dunne himself writing many editorials.

The reform governor was elected, and then, Dunne realized that many amazing things were about to happen. The reformers, in their platform, distinctly said that if elected they would fight for the passage of a minimum wage bill. Dunne, interested in a department store, didn't fancy the idea of a minimum wage bill passing the legislature, so he fought it, but somehow, his paper didn't carry the kind of stuff he wanted.

"I tell you, Dunne," said Mr. Fraser, "we haven't got the man who has the right angle on this minimum wage business."

Dunne agreed with him.

"And what's more," Fraser added; "it looks to me as though more than half the men of our staff are for that bill and are hoping to see it pass."

Dunne had suspected this for weeks.

"We aren't getting the right kind of stuff," Fraser repeated.

"I don't know of a better man to put on this story," said Dunne with a growl.

"Oh, that's easy enough, Dunne," said Fraser, with a wink "we've got the right man——"

"Who?"

"You!"

This was a neat compliment, Dunne thought, and it pleased him immensely. Dunne put fire and vigor into the fight. The men behind the paper chuckled, for they saw that they were getting what they needed—"the right angle."

Dunne fought like a tiger—he threatened, he bullied, he lied, he screamed, he moaned—he used dozens of cartoons. He did everything in his power to work up sentiment against the bill. He roared at the reformers, accusing them of all sorts of crimes. He made life uncomfortable for them. The headlines, day after day, week after week, counted. Dunne brought up a number of side issues to cloud the real issue. "We sort of muddled the water," said Fraser.

"Your'e doing fine," said Fraser, "keep it up!"

And Dunne obeyed. "The trouble," said Dunne, "is that we are on the defensive. Even though we are pouring the hot shot into them, they are still on the offensive." With a thump on the table, he added, "I want THEM to be on the defensive! Not me!"

Mr. Fraser liked the idea, but he didn't know just what to do. Dunne solved this problem. Attack them—simple enough. He made a number of sensational charges against the floor leaders and the Governor. He made serious charges the kind that make people talk, and, it wasn't many days before the Governor and his fighting lieutenants were on the defensive; they literally had to fight to save their reputations—and the result was—well, that doesn't matter; the point is that the bill was forgotten; the point of attack was shifted; the issues were muddled and the girls were left where they always were, with starvation wages. This, it was generally agreed, was a master stroke on Dunne's part.

He had his way about things. He had argued that girls would "never go wrong on account of low wages if they weren't bad by nature." He had argued that "low wages do not drive girls into the street." His department store was saved many thousands of dollars.

Oh, by the way, Laura Knight was one of the employees in Dunne's store. That is to say, she was there until some weeks ago. Dunne met her one night and was astonished to learn that she had become a prostitute. Strange things happen, Dunne thought. "She never was any good or she wouldn't have become THAT." And Dunne might have married her!

What a narrow escape!

Our Salacious Public

PEOPLE who attend theatre very little, and who, therefore, are the loudest in demanding censorship, contend that the pornographic theatre is one of the chief factors in the demoralization of the public.

These people naïvely assume that producers are forcing licentious productions on a virtuous and frowning public. They forget that the production of films and legitimates is a business, and, as such, is managed strictly on business principles. No producer is foolhardy enough—unless he is a millionaire who wishes to amuse himself, or, being of an idealistic temperament, wishes to convert a recalcitrant public to some radicalism—to offer a distasteful play to theatre-goers. Unpopular vehicles are rarely financially successful.

The fact of the matter is that the risqué play is shown purely because people crave it.

I have carefully studied the attitude of the average audience toward the indecencies of the screen and stage, and almost invariably I have found audiences greeting them with peals of rapturous laughter. The subtly-suggestive seldom fails to evoke merriment.

Whenever "Fatty" of Keystone fame, begins to remove his trousers, and then, after some reflection, decides to extinguish the light before completing the operation, what does the audience do but emit echoing guffaws?

When Charlie Chaplin brandishes his cane so that he catches and raises the skirt of his leading lady perilously above her knees, the audience is convulsed.

If a comedian emerges from some ball-room brawl, clad only in his B. V. D.'s the average church-going citizen not only tolerates it, but considers it rollicking good fun.

At a Western theatre last winter two packed houses saw and hugely enjoyed "So Long Letty," a musical comedy replete with the coarsest vulgarity and buffoonery. The delighted audiences, unquestionably composed of the city's "best people," repeatedly applauded revolting jests in which a pregnant woman was made the butt of ridicule.

At a local musical-comedy playhouse recently, the leading comedian, seeing a minister flirting with a damsel, said, with a sly wink at his audience: "Go to it! Slaughter, old boy!" This witticism received prolonged and tumultuous applause. (For the benefit of those who have heard nothing of the above-named Mr. Slaughter, I will say that it is the name of a minister who was convicted for raping a 16-year-old girl who attended his church).

I cite these concrete cases merely to show that the fault lies not so much with the film or play producer as it does with the appallingly low morale of the public itself.

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The Man Behind the Bars

By Alanson Sessions

ARE prisoners people?

Thomas Mott Osborne* says that they are. He very flippantly asserts that prisoners are human beings, with many of the impulses, instincts, proclivities and desires that characterize the remainder of us. Frequently he is very revolutionary on this subject. He even says that convicts have brains and stomachs and spinal columns—just like real people!

Thomas Mott Osborne is a vicious heretic. He should be socially excommunicated for disseminating such vile and pernicious doctrines. He has the ineffable audacity to say that Jesse James looks something like me—that the most hardened criminals in the world like to eat appetizing food, like to wear good clothing, like to jingle money in their pockets, enjoy the society of men and women—just like the rest of us!

No. This is not a nonsensical introduction, but a plain truthful statement of the reason why Thomas Mott Osborne is not a popular penologist and why he is cordially hated by almost every politician in the State of New York.

Osborne, being a very human being himself, once conceived the idea that if ordinary people developed most satisfactorily under an environment conducive to health and happiness, then extraordinary people would thrive best under those conditions. He pointed out that sunlight and fresh air are necessary for health, that social intercourse is needed to develop the faculties of give and take and fair play; that prisoners need a certain amount of independence and responsibility to make strong, thinking citizens of them.

Moreover, he proved the correctness of his theory. At both Auburn and Sing Sing he demonstrated the beneficial effects of self-government, of freedom, of ample recreation.

But Thomas Mott Osborne is a man ahead of his time. As Frederick Harrison once said, "Society can overlook murder, swindling or adultery; it never forgives the preaching of a new gospel." Osborne preached a new gospel, and he is not yet forgiven. But he has fully proved his contentions, and before another decade has passed every penal institution in the United States will be forced by an awakened social conscience to adopt his suggestions.

"Society and Prisons" is the most readable and sensible work on the subject of criminology that has appeared since the classic work of Enrico Ferri entitled, "The Positive School of Criminology." It is not more scientific than Ferri's book, but Osborne is so thoroly human and evinces such a thoro and sympathetic understanding of the mental processes of the underdog that one is completely carried away by the broad-mindedness and kindly feeling that permeate every page.

Socialists will find nothing in "Society and Prisons" with which they will radically disagree. Fundamentally, Osborne shares the views of the positive school that criminals are the product of a combination of bad heredity and environment, and that society alone is responsible for the appalling number of infractions of the law. He says:

"It must be evident upon very slight acquaintance with the operations of the law that a very large number of those who get entangled in its net are not morally guilty; they are simply irresponsible, thru an ignorance that is no fault of their own. The number of men who have a deliberate intention to commit wickedness is relatively very small indeed."

Osborne defines a criminal as "a person who has com-

mitted a punishable offense against public law; more particularly a person convicted of a punishable public offense on proof or confession." However, despite the irresponsibility of most criminals, he takes the position that society has the right of self-preservation.

Osborne denies that there is a "criminal type." He makes light of many of the theories of the old school of criminology, and pokes fun at Havelock Ellis who writes that "family affection is by no means rare among criminals." "One is almost tempted to add," says Osborne, "as a no less important contribution to penology, that criminals as a rule have two legs and are sometimes partial to chops and tomato sauce." Osborne scoffs at Lombroso's theories concerning the "criminal type," and quotes Dr. Charles Goring, an English physician connected with the Parkhurst Prison in England, to the effect that "No evidence has emerged confirming the existence of a physical type, such as Lombroso and his disciples have described."

Osborne goes on to say: "I have yet to meet one prisoner whom I regard as anything but a perfectly natural human being—a natural human being often rendered abnormal thru inherited weaknesses, more often thru the evil influences of unhealthy environment, must often thru the stupidity of older people to whose care a precious human life was early entrusted. I believe that the institutions, devised by man for the training of youth, to be most responsible for the inmates in our state prisons. And when we talk about 'confirmed criminals' and a 'criminal type' and a 'criminal class' we are trying to lay upon God the blame which belongs to ourselves."

In other words, he throws the blame up squarely to the door of the present social order. No wonder he is universally hated by prison officials, who, as a rule, are the staunchest defenders of our archaic competitive system! When society begins to discard the absurd belief that the criminal is the victim of disease, and to adopt the belief that he is usually the direct product of abnormal social and industrial conditions, there will then be such a thing as a science of criminality—and not before.

Osborne states that law, as at present administered, proceeds upon the theory of revenge—of punishment, for crime—that the criminal is supposed to be meted out so much punishment for so much crime. He says that this is an utter impossibility. "Who can determine the exact responsibility which each one of us carries? Who can estimate the due weight to be allotted to each element—the inheritance, the early training or lack of training, the effect of environment, the influence of others, the results of unforeseen circumstances; in order to determine the exact degree of real blame deserved by the perpetrators of each and every crime, and the relative amount of punishment it would be fair to give to each?"

Osborne maintains that prisons do not reform, but on the contrary have the most perfect system patented to harden criminals. "In New York over two-thirds of the men in its four state prisons are recidivists; is that not good proof of the failure of our prisons to send out, at the end of their terms, men fitted to meet the world? Does it not point to the failure of the system under which our courts are acting?"

The objects of imprisonment are three-fold. They are: First, retaliatory; second, deterrent; and third, reformatory. The first is supposed to make the offender, by way of expiation, suffer in his turn. The second is to frighten both the offender himself and others in the outside world who intend

*SOCIETY AND PRISONS, by Thomas Mott Osborne, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. Price \$1.35, Postpaid.

to commit crime. The third is to work a moral change for righteousness in the heart of the criminal.

Osborne contends that the first two objects are futile—that neither of them are practical. Not only that, but that the results are indubitably harmful. "As for the deterrent effect upon prisoners themselves; my own conclusion, formed after close acquaintance with many convicts, from the statements they have made to me, and from my own reading of human nature, is that the prison punishment of the past as a deterrent has been a sham and a failure."

Osborne is scathing in his denunciation of the custom of solitary confinement. He denounces it as the most barbarous institution in so-called civilized society. And when he took charge of the Welfare League among the prisoners of Auburn and Sing Sing, he showed that some of the most brutal and vicious criminals that were ever confined in a penitentiary could be made into decent citizens merely by giving them freedom in the yards, and by placing a certain amount of confidence in them. Osborne believes that solitary confinement should never be used, as its only result is to make the brutal more brutal and the vicious more vicious.

In the summer of 1913, Osborne, who was then on the New York Board of Commission Reform, appointed by the Governor, decided to enter the penitentiary as a voluntary convict and to live the life of a prisoner for a week, in order to learn by actual experience the conditions that existed. He was given permission to do so, and his description of the revolting conditions which surrounded him are graphic and highly interesting. He describes his feelings when he was first incarcerated:

"I am a prisoner, locked, double-locked. By no human possibility, by no act of my own, can I throw open the iron grating which shuts me from the world into this small stone vault. I am a voluntary prisoner, it is true; nevertheless, even a voluntary prisoner can't unlock the door of his cell—that must be done by some one from outside. I am perfectly conscious of a horrible feeling of constraint—of confinement. It recalls an agonized moment of my childhood when I accidentally locked myself into a closet.

"My cell is exactly four feet wide by seven and a half feet long, measuring by my own feet, and about seven feet high. The iron bed is hooked to the wall and folds up against it; the mattress and blankets hang over it. The entire furniture consists of one stool, a shelf or table which drops down against the wall when not held up by hooks, an iron basin filled with water for washing purposes, a covered iron bucket for other purposes, a tin cup for drinking water, . . . and an old broom which stands in the corner. A small wooden locker with three shelves is fastened up in the farther left-hand corner. The pillow hangs in the opposite right-hand corner over the edge of the bed.

"This is a cell in one of the oldest parts of the prison. It has a concrete floor and plastered walls and ceiling, and looks clean. . . . The electric bulb hangs from a hook in the center of the arched ceiling and my head nearly touches it."

After describing the horror of the darkness in the cells, he continues:

"It is of no use to shut your eyes, for you know they are still there; you can feel the blackness of those iron bars across your closed eyelids; they seem to sear themselves into your very soul. It is the most terrible sensation I ever experienced. I understand now the prison pallor; I understand the sensitiveness of this prison audience; I understand the high nervous tension which makes anything possible. HOW DOES ANY MAN REMAIN SANE, I WONDER, CAGED IN THIS STONE GRAVE, DAY AFTER DAY, NIGHT AFTER NIGHT?"

Nine evils of the old prison system were abolished by Warden Osborne, when he secured that position in Sing Sing. They were:

1. Constant confinement.
2. The vice naturally resulting from such confinement.
3. Ill-organized and inefficient system of labor.
4. Enforcement of silence.
5. The terrible monotony.
6. Constant espionage.
7. The system of "stool pigeons."
8. The horrible brutality of officers to prisoners.
9. The removal of all confidence and responsibility in the prisoner.

By instituting a general assembly of the prisoners, by dealing with them in a kindly manner, by allowing them to manage collectively many of their own affairs, by giving them sports and recreation in healthful quantity, Warden Osborne produced the following result:

In the seven years previous to the time he took charge of the prison, there had never been less than four escapes and as high as nineteen. IN 1915, DURING WHICH TIME OSBORNE INSTITUTED HIS NEW SYSTEM, THERE WERE ONLY THREE ESCAPES.

The results are eloquent proof of the efficiency of humane treatment of criminals. Osborne has conclusively proved his theory, and he deserves the thanks of mankind.

It is true that kindly treatment will not solve the problems of crime. Before we can materially decrease the amount of crime, we must establish equality of opportunity, we must spread broadcast the knowledge of contraception—and we must do a great many other revolutionary things. But we also have to deal with conditions as they exist. And in that respect, no man deserves higher honors than Thomas Mott Osborne.

* * *

On A Stack of old "Popular" Magazines

A jaded reader, finding magazines
Undusted, cover-torn, behind old screens,
Recalling hours he wasted on their show
Of mawkish puppets, may choleric grow;
May wonder who adjudged such travesties
The counterparts of men; and then may seize
The lot and throw them out, his anger gone
When he sees bare the shelf they rested on.

For me they call up more than wasted hours.
They cry a tragedy of wasted powers:
They cry of men who pot-boiled frenziedly—
This one because of sheer necessity,
That one because he was a Sybarite—
And while they pot-boiled stifled all the light
Of truth and beauty shining in their hearts;
And killed their courage—courage, torch of arts.

They boast, those magazines, of bargains made.
"A half-truth for the flesh-pots," was the trade.
"A half-truth's better far than any lie.
"Truth kills a lie, but half-truths hardly die!"
They jeer, "No song of all they might have sung
"Shall win the laurel when their day is done.
"On us they charred their flames; we're their full share.
"The shelf we're thrown from ever will be bare!"

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

Peace Terms

IN England, the censor's power has waned; in France he is practically dead. Political discussion in Europe is freer today than at any time since the war began. Even in America, the people may discuss their own important business concerning the terms of peace with less danger of being tyrannized over by their own public servants than heretofore.

One may, perhaps, be permitted to hope that peace may come soon. Upon what terms should we be willing to lay down our arms? It seems to me that we are in grave danger of over-estimating the relative importance of the Terms of Peace.

If we can wrest anything of value from a perplexing situation of course we should do so. If we can write anything into the final settlement that might indicate an advance towards democracy anywhere, it is our duty to write it. But we should not lose sight of the fact that a real advance towards real democracy involves action more drastic and more far-reaching than the mere signing of an agreement.

Norman Angell showed us quite conclusively that commercial prosperity does not depend upon military strength. He completely smashed the old illusion that military victory carries with it a victory for the well-being of the people. The same principle is true of moral values. We may go to war sincerely motivated by a devotion to an ideal, but a victory at arms does not ensure the actual preservation of that ideal; something more vital is necessary.

Democracy is worth fighting for. And a people may be compelled to fight for it against those who threaten to take it from them, or who may be preventing them from getting it. But establishing democracy is not alone a matter of blood; it is a matter of sweat; it is a matter of thought; it is a matter of education. Democracy involves a constant adjustment of power to suit conditions in order that ultimate control may rest always with the people. It is as easy to build factories with cannon as to establish democracy by violence.

We profess to be fighting for peace, and to believe in the efficacy of forces outside of physical might; but to be too insistent that our demands be met without any sort of compromise would be to confess a faith in violence as a factor in progress that would ill become our peaceful pretensions. We say also that we believe in democracy; we should therefore be willing to trust the workers of the world to work out the problems that concern them, in an orderly fashion in the long time that is to come after the war.

—ALEC WATKINS.

Which Road?

WHEN the war to make the world safe for democracy is over, the war to get it in America will be resumed.

We may reach it by either of two roads: The first road is the road of revolution, violent and painful; the second road is the road of more or less orderly change. The second road is the least wasteful, the least disastrous to ourselves, and if we take it we are not likely to have to retrace our steps.

But there are three things in America that are unconsciously but surely forcing our feet along the red road of revolution.

The first factor is the government's policy of suppression and persecution in dealing with certain organizations of labor and with certain types of opinion. If history discredits any political principle at all, it discredits this principle of suppression. Suppression is the tyrant's favorite weapon. But, particularly where the people have had a taste of democracy, it is a stupid weapon. The effect of its use is to produce an

attitude of uncompromising hostility in those whose activities are being suppressed, to drive them to greater extremes in the pursuit of their purposes, and to swell their ranks with many who would otherwise hold themselves aloof.

The second factor is the perversity, the stupid torism, the almost unbelievable blindness of the present leadership of the American Federation of Labor. Samuel Gompers may be thoroughly honest. But it is nevertheless true that the policies to which he so stubbornly adheres increases his own personal power both inside and outside his organization at the expense of the men from whom he draws his pay. One of the first articles of the creed of Gompersism is that the unions should stay out of politics. But Gompers himself does not stay out of politics. And Gompers enjoys his influence in political affairs not because he is Samuel Gompers but because he is the president of the A. F. of L. Why the unions should not wield directly the influence that Gompers is enabled to wield through his connection with them is not easy to understand—unless it is because the entrance of the unions into politics would mean the exit of Gompers. Labor has been fighting with one hand. And if she is compelled to keep the other hand behind her back she will have to fight all the harder with the hand that is free; if she does not fight politically she must needs do all her fighting in a more drastic fashion with other weapons.

The third factor is the Socialist party. The present program of the party is quite inadequate. We socialists confine ourselves largely to pamphleteering and electioneering. Up to the present time, perhaps from necessity, we have been a party of opinion instead of action. We have failed to break into the actual game. It is far better to agitate than to do nothing, but agitation that is unaccompanied by any sort of constructive action will land us nowhere.

What we need most is not a Socialist party but a labor party. The function of the socialist should be not to talk for labor but to get labor to talk for herself; not to fight for labor, but to get labor to do her own fighting; not to theorize about co-operation but to become a co-operator. If the American socialist can do these things he will have done his share towards ensuring the safe conduct of the worker in the direction of the Co-operative Commonwealth along the road that holds the minimum of surety that he will arrive at the desired goal.

—ALEC WATKINS.

* * *

Russia Undermining Prussianism

Events are confirming the contentions of the non-resistant, and showing the futility of brute force as an educative factor in civilization.

Prince Maxmilian of Baden, in an interview with the Wolff bureau of Berlin, said:

"Germany is threatened from Russia by a 'moral infection.' . . . German world order must undertake defensive measures against Russian world disorder."

"The Internationalist" has long argued that the most efficacious way to inculcate the ideals of democracy in the minds of the German people is to encourage revolution in surrounding countries. This will tend to convince the German people that their enemies are not without but within their gates, and induce them to concentrate their attention and energy on the abolition of autocracy at home.

It seems to us that our present policy of maintaining a lukewarm attitude toward the Bolsheviki is about the height of stupid diplomacy.—A. S.

What Thinkers Think

Gems of Comment From Current Periodicals

—The most damnable low-down, lascivious and licentious thing to produce prostitutes is the dance, and I will rip it from hell to breakfast.—Rev. W. A. Sunday, quoted in "Brann's Iconoclast."

—Fully 5,000,000 people of the United States read Socialistic, I. W. W., or other literature of a destructive character; 5,000,000 more read Rationalistic, anti-Christian, anti-Catholic literature.—L. K. Washburn, "Truth-seeker."

—This, our nation, is a Christian nation. We, the people, are a Christian people . . . The depths of our national life are Christian.—Harold Bell Wright, "The American."

—China, the home of the bubonic and pneumonic plagues, smallpox, and leprosy, has always been the great plague spot of the world.—French Strother, "The World's Work."

—About 5000 persons die in New York City each year as a result of syphilis and its complications.—New York Department of Health, "The World's Work."

—We should like to be beyond war. But we cannot be so long as Germany is not and looks on our aspiration as a weakness to be taken advantage of.—Vernon Kellogg, "North American Review."

—If England, in the first year of war, had had as many strikes as the United States, she would have had to conclude separate peace with Germany.—Sir Stephenson Kent, "World's Work."

—Fundamentally, Socialism is an appeal to egotism, to envy, hatred and greed; an appeal which, Russia's experience shows, sows and quickly reaps a crop of spoilation, outrage and murder.—Charles Johnston, "North American Review."

—There can be no question about the complete failure of Allied diplomacy in dealing with the Russians.—Arno Dosch-Fleuret, "New York World."

—So long as people continue to fix their attention on heavenly things, they will remain quiet under the pressure of the social problem.—Louis Wallis, "The Public."

—Efficiency has not been popular among the proletariat because as now applied it chiefly swells the profits of the capitalists with little benefit to the working man or the consuming public. When all the economy of effort it achieves accrues to society as a whole, it will be cheerfully and generally adopted.—Leon Trotzky, "The Independent."

—The workers themselves will, in most of the countries, be in a stronger political position, than before the war. Having risked their lives "to make the world safe for democracy" they will be likely to demand an even greater degree of democracy at home.—Harry Laidler, "Intercollegiate Socialist."

—The American republic is headed straight for socialism.—Senator Harding, "The Independent."

—If France and Britain renounce annexations and Germany insists on them, we shall have a revolution in the land.—Herr Schiedmann, in Reichstag.

—Secret diplomacy, compulsory military service, profit from the manufacture of the instruments of destruction, should be rendered unnecessary in a society of free nations.—Arthur Henderson, "The Call Magazine."

—The November elections, 1918, will be the first big opportunity of the Socialists.—Scott Nearing, "Intercollegiate Socialist."

—Russia is where she is today because she has been driven there by the Allies, including the United States. It seems that Germany has a vested interest in the stupidity of allied diplomats.—Louis B. Boudin, "Intercollegiate Socialist."

—The policy of Great Britain is tacitly to encourage Germany in her annexationist policy.—Leon Trotzky in "London News."

—To find the climax of sin we must put our hands on social groups who have turned the patrimony of a nation into the private property of a small class, or have left the peasant laborers cowed, degraded, demoralized, and without rights in the land.—Walter Raschenbusch, in "Current Opinion."

—In the art of Arthur B. Davies, we feel the nostalgia of the infinite, the sorcery of dolls, the salt of sex, the vertigo of them who skirt the edge of perilous ravines, or straddle the rim of finer issues. He dwells

in equivocal twilights; and he can stare the sun out of countenance.—James Huneker, "New York Tribune."

—A motor car will soon be developed that will steer itself almost automatically, will be weather-tight and entirely glass-enclosed, will have no clutch or gears and will carry no spare tires, because the day of punctureless or airless tires is at hand.—"Scientific American."

—Leon Trotzky, now so prominent in Russian politics, was at one time a moving picture actor in this country. He appeared in "My Official Wife" with Clara Kimball Young, and his salary was five dollars a day—the days he worked.—"The Independent."

—The Russian revolution is having its effect in Germany. The ground is being undermined beneath the feet of the Fatherland party and the Pan-Germans.—Frank Symonds, "Review of Reviews."

—The Department of Agriculture is campaigning for a billion bushels of wheat this year. This means that it will be necessary for our farmers to raise 35,000,000 more bushels than in 1917 when the winter and spring crops totaled 650,828,000 bushels.—Congressman John D. Baer, "Review of Reviews."

—The anarchists who have seized possession of power in Russia are devoid of patriotism.—M. Finot, Paris "La Revue."

—Germany has the lowest prices for cereals in the world.—"Review of Reviews."

—With the war costing from seventeen to twenty billions the first fiscal year, Big Business is wallowing in profits. And out of this enormous war cost, the profiteers and fat incomes will page a meager two or three billions.—Robert La Follette, "La Follette's Magazine."

—We have got a lot of brave fellows in America with their arms in the treasury clear up to the elbows—fellows who call everybody a traitor who catches them stealing. Their months are thoroughly patriotic, but their legs are all pacifist.—Congressman Wm. E. Mason, in "La Follette's Magazine."

—We have only to imagine what would have happened to a group of men who had chosen to air a grievance by picketing the White House—the speed with which they would have been arrested, fined, dispersed and forgotten—to realize the nature of the tolerance granted to women.—Agnes Repplier, "Atlantic Monthly."

—The decision to throw the world into the war was partly made by the hope of the ruling classes that by such a catastrophe they might drown the storm of the coming revolution in their own countries.—Morris Hillquit, "People's Council Bulletin."

—This war shows us that in a crisis the constitution can be swept entirely aside, and that we cannot depend on this document to guarantee our civil liberties.—Scott Nearing, "People's Council Bulletin."

—Patients afflicted with a common cold should be cautious in the handling of their handkerchiefs, and should hold a handkerchief or gauze over the nose and mouth when sneezing, and should keep as far away from healthy persons as the exigencies of life permit.—"Therapeutic Gazette."

—The celebrated Cornaro, who brought himself to subsist on a daily diet of no more than twelve ounces of solid food, and fourteen ounces of wine, lived in spite of his weak constitution for about a century, and retained his intelligence until his death.—"Critic and Guide."

The supply of wheat in this nation and in the world is inadequate. Owing to short crops in preceding years, the reserves of a number of important commodities have been greatly reduced.—Secretary Houston, in Weekly News Letter, Department of Agriculture.

—The United Kingdom has lost by the fall in births during the war more than 500,000 potential lives.—Sir Bernard Mallet, "Scientific American."

—The Catholics claim an increase of membership in 1916 of 390,000, but dropped to a falling off in 1917 of 241,000.—Dr. H. K. Carroll, "Christian Herald."

—Cowardly masked upper-class mobs, calling themselves "Knights of Liberty" and mumbling hypocritical words about the "women and children of Belgium," will not succeed in terrorizing the labor movement of America, nor will they tend to make it more patriotic.—Max Eastman, "The Liberator."

—What are we to say when we see asceticism preached to the poor by fat and comfortable retainers of the rich?—Upton Sinclair, "Upton Sinclair's Magazine."

BOOKS and READING

By David Bospa

STATISTICS FOR SOCIALISTS.

For as many years as I can remember, The World Almanac has been an essential feature of my desk equipment, and, capitalistic though it is, I would not want to do without it until Socialists patronize their own publishing houses to the extent that they may become as all-inclusive. This period is close at hand if we may judge from the excellence of "The American Labor Year Book," issued in its second annual edition by the Rand School of Social Science. The 1917-18 edition is not a rehash of the original edition, but a new book that should find its way into every socialist and labor library.

Alexander Trachtenberg, director of the department of labor research of the Rand School, has had the co-operation of a wide range of radical publicists in editing the Year Book. It is divided into six main sections. labor and war; the labor movement in the United States; labor and the law; social and economic conditions; the international Socialist, labor and co-operative movements; the Socialist movement in the United States.

Statistics and general information of co-operative and general labor problems of the entire world are included, though the facts center principally in the affairs of the Socialists of this country. The latest information concerning party activities are given. There are about fifty contributors, including Lajpat Rai, Scott Nearing, Anna Maley, James Oneal, I. M. Rubinow, Morris Hillquit, Adolph Germer, and Basil M. Manley.

Rand School of Social Science, New York, 60c.

* * *

It always gives one a sense of sorrow when he looks at some wreck of a man who in his youth has been a pillar of strength and importance. So I feel when I think of the "New Appeal." One standard of Warren and Wayland, however, has not been weakened. This is "The New Appeal Almanac." The 1918 edition is like its predecessors in power, though widened in scope. It covers a field no other book on earth fills and is a companion volume in importance with the "American Labor Year Book."

No one wanting to be informed, or to look up problems of importance that come up continually can afford to be without the yearly "Appeal Almanac." How such an encyclopediac mine of information can be included in such compass has for years been a source of mystery to me. But there it is—year after year, always brought down to date, reliable and thorough, a veritable school of general information in itself. In addition to the regular features we have all learned to look for in the Almanac, there are condensations of the famous Public Health Bulletin No. 76, and the Illinois Vice Report. Important statistics of the war, labor legislation, labor politics and sociology, banks and trusts—in short, the entire range of the economic and political field—keep the Almanac in its established character as a Socialist institution.

"The New Appeal," Girard, Kansas. Given only as subscription premium.

* * *

A modern "background" is covered by Mrs. Alec-Tweedie in her book on Mexico as a factor in the war—"Mexico: from Diaz to the Kaiser."

I think Mrs. Alec-Tweedie has been somewhat stampeded by the general currents of opinion, but she has presented a mass of interesting details worthy of consideration. Her book is "the story of the depth and breadth of German intrigue in Mexico, with a sweeping array of facts. A searching study of the underlying causes of unrest and tragically unsettled conditions in Mexico, written by a woman whose acquaintance with Diaz and other Mexican officials afford her excellent material. A picture of the historical development in that revolution-ridden country. A narrative told with exceptional skill and a striking eye for dramatic effects which go to make it far more thrilling than most novels." (Publishers' generous estimate.)

The artistic photos from which the book is illustrated were taken by the author during her visits to Mexico. The message will bear the sanction of the American Wall Street Kaisers who are more responsible for conditions in Mexico than Kaiser Wilhelm. If the Germans have not been mixed in the international scramble to exploit Mexico, they must have been slow indeed, for that would have put them outside the class of all other nations in this respect. What happened between the native exploiters of Mexico and their foreign partners-in-crime, Mrs. Alec-Tweedie may know, as she claims in her book. In this, she has performed a service she did not intend—added to the proof that the workers have no friends except themselves, at home or abroad in any land under the sun.

George H. Doran Co., New York. \$3.50.

INTERNATIONALISM IN THE MAGAZINES

Literature is one of the universal bonds. As all blood runs red and there is salt in tears of all races, so all types and families of the world have found expression through literature. The poet is the leader, prophet, interpreter and historian of every age; he it is who grasps the universal basis of truth. There is a tendency in some of the magazines of the dawn to bring into common possession the thoughts and expressions of all nations.

Prominent among these worthy magazines is "The Stratford Journal" issued monthly. This is an international magazine in the broadest sense of the word. The February issue contains Russian stories, a garland of Armenian verse, American prose and poetry, and Italian drama. Dr. Henry T. Schnitkind, editor, translates two humorous tales from Anton Chekhov, "Carelessness" and "Overspiced." They are a trifle less morbid than the usual run of Chekhov's morgue. As would be expected, the tragedy of Armenian national life is reflected from the seven poems representing the work of as many poets. Dr. Isaac Goldberg presents an American rendering of Giuseppe Giacossa's play, "The Rights of the Soul."

Among the older journals of a truly international character, none ranks above "The Open Court." The current issue takes us into philosophic excursions through Chinese, Korean, Jewish, European and American thought preserves. Dr. Paul Carus by his world-wide touch with men of science and philosophy maintains a mountain-top standard of excellence that is welding the philosophical world into an international unit of fellowship.

"The Intercollegiate Socialist" includes Scott Nearing, Louis B. Boudin, Algernon Lee, Frederic C. Howe, Frank Bohn and many others in the February-March list of contributors. Among the topics dealt with are "Democracy at the Peace Settlement," "National Control of Railroads," "The Future of the City," "Excess Profits Confiscation," and "State Socialism in War Time."

KERR'S SOCIALIST CLASSICS

Capital has become international. War is world-wide as well as pandemonium. Let's have an international working class by emphasizing this year as never before the gladsome May Day of Internationalism and the memory of Karl Marx. There is no need to say anything about the contents of Marx's monumental three volumes of "Capital," except that when you get them you will want Ernest Untermann's translation as published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. This big co-operative house has printed a new edition of the third volume, of which Mary Marcy wrote me in a recent letter "it is better to refer to it on specific points than to try to wade through it alone."

To those who have made comparatively little study of Marx, I would recommend Comrade Louis B. Boudin's "The Theoretical System of Karl Marx in the Light of Recent Criticism." You will grasp the purpose of the book best from a part of the author's preface:

"I, therefore, concluded to present to the English reader, instead of an account of the movement to revise Marxism, an exposition of the teachings of Marx, and to draw upon the literature of Revisionism only in so far as it may become necessary or expedient in the course of such exposition in order to accentuate some of its points or differentiate them from others with which they are likely to be confused. I have therefore refrained from entering here into any controversy with any revisionist Marx critic except in so far as it was necessary for my purpose.

"In the arrangement of the matter I have followed the suggestion of the great master; I have treated the Materialistic Conception of History as merely introductory to the study of the actual workings of the capitalist system. . . . There is one respect, however, in which the Materialistic Conception of History has a harder road to travel than any other system of thought that I know of: the persistent misrepresentations of friend and foe. I have, therefore, deemed it advisable to attach two appendices, wherein are treated two points with respect to which these perversions and misrepresentations are most frequent and at the same time most glaring.

"I hope that the volume herewith presented will give the reader, if not an adequate presentation of the Marxian doctrines, at least an adequate beginning for such presentation, and that it will serve as a stimulant towards an adequate discussion among English-speaking people of the great theoretical problems embraced within the realm of Marxism."

Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. \$1.00 net.

Co-operation the World Over

Notes About the Chief Co-operatives Gleaned from Many Sources

A TICKET TO HEAVEN

Perhaps the question that probes closest to the heart of the theory of consumers' co-operation is, What is Dividend?

Dividend-giving is the device of charging current retail prices and returning the margin cost to those who had paid it in purchasing the goods. Dividend is profit given to the purchaser. It is the middleman's rake-off returned to its rightful owner. It is the poor man's Automatic savings bank." It is the house-keeper's nest egg. It is a way of acquiring capital without saving it or stealing it. But it is even more than the most effective way of keeping the wolf from the door. It is the provider of a "unique democratic basis to an industrial organization." It is a card of membership to a great democratic society. It is the citizen's papers of a "state within a state"—a state in which the women are enfranchised and no one considered an unwelcome alien. But it is still more than the furthest out-post of democracy. It is the guide to the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which there will be no coercion and no exploitation, and none of the evils which result from exploitation, in which no one will go hungry or thirsty or ill-clothed, but in which there will be the final "Conquest of Bread" by those who made it and those who need it.

The amount of the "dividend" is not nearly as significant as many suppose it. To judge from a number of recent inquiries, the average dividend in the United States appears to be 5.6 percent to members. However, the margin upon cost is always very variable. It can be arbitrarily affected in many different ways. Skillful or unskillful purchasing, wise or unwise management, economy or extravagance, and the conditions of the market itself, all necessarily determined the profit, and hence the amount of dividend. The dividend may be unduly diminished by cutting prices, careless handling of articles, waste in cutting or weighing out articles dishonesty of employees, sudden rises in wholesale prices, the ordinary hazards of life such as fire, burglary, etc., and the most damaging of all dangers, disloyalty in purchasing. It may be unduly increased by demanding too high prices, by dealing in poor shoddy goods, by neglecting depreciation, education funds, and the union label.—By RALPH E. CHEYNEY, Publicity Director, Co-operative League of America.

THE PEACE OF INDUSTRY

"Co-operation was born of the feeling that unmitigated competition is at best social war, and though war has its conquests, its poms, its bards, its proud associations and heroic memories, there is murder in its march, and humanity and genius were things to blush for if progress cannot be accomplished by some other means. What an enduring truce is to war, Co-operation is to the never-ceasing conflict between capital and labor. It is the peace of industry."—G. J. HOLYOAKE.

THE UNION CO-OPERATIVE STORE

The Union Co-operative Store owes its great success to the loyalty and conscientious work of its members. Organized in 1914 for the benefit of a few co-operators, it has grown gradually until today the store carries everything that a family might need, and is conducting its business with excellent results.

To give a detailed account of the hard struggle which this co-operative institution has had with rival, privately-conducted stores, and to describe the unscrupulous methods which the latter have used in the attempt to crush us, would require too much space in your estimable magazine.

Our co-operative store propaganda found favor originally with workers who were all socialists and members of the Socialist party. We opened our own store and refused to buy from other stores, no matter if prices were lower for the time being in competing concerns, knowing well that his latter attraction was but bait thrown out to dissolve our institution.

The war has created an opportunity for merchants to make enormous profits from the sale of commodities. Without the least exaggeration, one can say that many of these merchants are making 1000 percent profit on various staples. In privately-conducted merchant enterprises, selfishness and exploitation rule supreme.

In our co-operative store, we have a plentiful stock on hand and the shareholders of this enterprise are purchasing goods at prices very much lower than those in other stores. These far-sighted people who organized the co-operative years ago are now reaping the benefit of their wisdom and sacrifice. Many who are no shareholders are clamoring for permission to become a part of the organization, but the privilege must necessarily be denied them for good reasons. How they regret their sneering attitude when we started the institution!

I have often wondered why the workers should be so indifferent to the idea of co-operation, when it alone is capable of solving their problem of living. It seems to me that we enjoy being exploited in every possible manner. Yours fraternally, V. LETTINI, Union Co-operative Store, Barre, Vt.

CO-OPERATION IN DENMARK

Figures published in the official organ of co-operation in Denmark show the position of the entire movement last year as compared with the year previous. Thus the Distributive Wholesale's sales figures have increased from 84,500,000 kroner to 87,800,000 kroner (or from £4,695,000 to £4,878,000), while the collective sales of the distributive societies have risen from 125 million to 150 million kroner, i.e., from £6,944,000 to £8,333,000, an increase in which one has no difficulty in seeing the factor of abnormal prices.

The factor of abnormal prices is also visible in the turnover of close on 744 million kroner, or £40,767,000, pertaining to the Agricultural production and Sales societies collectively (i. e., the Co-operative Dairy societies and butter exporting organizations), the year's increase amounting practically to 92 million kroner, or about £5,110,000. On the other hand the Agricultural Purchasing societies through the hampering conditions of the period, figure in the record with a decrease of business to the amount of 47,200,000 kroner, or £2,622,000. Meanwhile the Co-operative Bank has made unabated progress; its turnover during the twelve months having grown from 3½ to 5½ milliards. The organization now embraces 1,132 co-operative societies, and the bank's operations are conducted through fifty branches.—"The Producer."

CO-OPERATION A SOCIAL NECESSITY

"The co-operative society is of importance because it develops in the individual those characteristics and capacities which are necessary for social progress. The present individualist system which takes care of the business interests of the farmers is a dividing and disintegrating force. It tends to destroy the natural associative character and to set each man against his neighbor. The conflict of interest engendered by the competitive regime has been wasted not only economically, but also from the more important point of view of individual character. The wastes of competitive industry are not confined to advertising costs, lack of understanding between purchaser and buyer, and the necessary protecting devices against monopoly. That system creates fraud and dishonesty, indifference and suspicion. It conceals the fact that the interests of each individual are best served in his associated capacity as a member of a social community. But, as a member of a society with interests in common, the individual, consciously and unconsciously, develops the social virtues. Honesty becomes imperative and is enforced by the whole group on the individual; loyalty to the community is made an essential for the better development of individual powers. To cheat the society is to injure a neighbor; to sell milk outside is to endanger the success of a venture in which friends and relatives are interested. These virtues have not been developed immediately or rapidly. Changes in character are even more difficult than changes in an economic system."—H. F. NORMAN, in "Better Business."

Two Books—

that every Socialist and Non-Socialist Should Read.

1. AMERICAN SOCIALISM OF THE PRESENT DAY (Revised)
2. THE FACTS OF SOCIALISM (cloth or paper, the latter at 25c)

Jessie Wallace Hughan

Address:

Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 70 5th ave., New York

The Pursuit of Happiness

THE editorials of the Hearst newspapers and Billy Sunday to the contrary, Happiness is the most nearly unattainable thing in the world.

It is elusiveness personified.

There is a popular illusion that permanent peace, homely matinee idols, undogmatic Germans and Socialism are competitors for the title of THE UNATTAINABLE. But for persistent evasiveness, those items aren't in it with the patron saint of the Garden of Eden. Running down any one of them is like running down a snail in comparison with the pursuit of the only genuine and untiring will-of-the-wisp, Happiness. The man has yet to live who has grasped the slippery thing and prevented it from gliding through his fingers.

One man is unhappy because his sweetheart loves him too little, another because she loves him too much; the dyspeptic because his appetite is consistently absent, the small boy because it is consistently with him.

The suffragist falls short of Happiness because there are so many unconverted; the anti-suffragist because there are so many converted; the militarist because he thinks men don't enjoy killing as they ought, the anti-militarist because he is afraid they enjoy it too well; the vivisectionist because there is always some other nerve he has not yet tampered with, the anti-vivisectionist because there is always some fresh barbarity he has not yet censured.

The drunkard in vain pursues Happiness because after being drunk he becomes sober, and the prohibitionist turns pessimist because after abstaining from beer water infects him with typhoid.

The wife of the poor man and the wife of the rich man alike develop wrinkles, the one because she has too many clothes to mend and the other because she has not enough clothes to wear.

Happiness escapes the humorist because he cannot laugh at his own joke and dodges the cynic because he is expected to live up to his own cynicism.

The inhabitants of the Earth cannot be happy because Mars is so far away from that they cannot chat over the back fences with the Martians. The Martians cannot be happy because the Earth is no near to them that the stench of the war carnage offends their too sensitive nostrils.

Perhaps after having mastered the weather, set aside the law of gravitation, established suburban aerial lines through interstellar space, buried the mother-in-law joke and discovered an antidote for the deadly virus of stupidity-humanus, we will stumble upon some law of psychology that will enable us to grasp Happiness and hold it permanently.

And if we do—perhaps we'll wish we hadn't.

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

Need an Adjustment?

(Continued from page 15)

a sick horse, they don't waste time asking the horse what the trouble is as human doctors do. They KNOW.

One sunny afternoon my friend of the large hands induced me to risk my life on the rear seat of a motorcycle to see a very sick woman about ten miles from my office. Arriving at the farm-house, we found that the woman had fallen from a load of hay and struck her head on the wagon tongue. The horse had dinged her head some to complete the job. She had been unconscious but when we arrived she was loudly conscious. She suffered great agony in the neck and could not move it without great pain. Her neck, was twisted over her shoulder.

With one look at the suffering woman, my friend stepped forward and gently put his great fingers along the cervicals. He then placed his other heavy hand firmly over the face and moved every bone in her neck. The pain was furious. The neck straightened however, and within ten minutes the pain was gone, the woman got up and proceeded with her work. The bruised places, remained for some time.

Witnessing the marvelous recovery, the husband hatched an idea. "Say, Doc," he said, "You fixed my old woman fine; maybe you can fix my horse."

Going into the corral, we saw a beautiful horse, pathetically trying to rise. His hind quarters refused to budge. The chiropractor smiled again, asked for a hammer. Going to his bag, he picked out a solid piece of gum about four inches long and about two inches thick. With great effort the three of us lifted the horse to his feet, and leaned him against a post. Standing on a box about two feet high the doctor, with forceful hands, placed the rubber on the four-inch lumbar, and swung a mighty blow on the rubber. The horse kicked both feet skyward and started around the corral on a run.

American Socialism

(Continued from page 7)

Some say that agitators of the new Marxian theories, hoping to win for their ideas alone, helped to sow dissensions. Cabot was turned, with all his supporters, from the colony which he had founded. He at once departed with his adherents to found another community. Four weeks from the time of his expulsion he died.

The Cabot faction bought a tract of land near Cheltenham, Mo., now within the limits of St. Louis. But they experienced the same difficulties that had beset the original colonists in Louisiana—they were swindled by land sharks. Living in community houses, the mechanics of the community worked in St. Louis factories, and ere long they were fairly prosperous, publishing a paper and having many enterprises of their own. But the community divided over autocratic versus democratic management, and the members withdrew in small bodies, until finally it was dissolved as the remainder of the colonists enlisted for service in the union army.

The Nauvoo community was disrupted by numerous dissensions, and lost much of its prosperity. Finally, its affairs were closed out and a new community was established in Icaria, Iowa. For a time they prospered. But new dissensions arose, and later the property of the community was divided among the membership by arbitration, the community dissolving.

(To be continued Next Month).

Coming back, he tried to kick us out of the corral. Vaulting the fence, we watched him cavort around.

We visited that horse several times, and he always tried to kick our heads off before we even got within consulting distance. He was a cured horse, through the gentle administration of a chiropractic adjustment.

Co-operation vs. Competition

(Continued from page 25)

ly using these legal co-operative machines; it has been declaring co-operation to be a very bad thing—for labor.

And by using these powerful economic engines in an evil way to exploit the people for their own selfish purposes, capitalists succeeded in creating quite a popular prejudice against corporations of every kind, until the very word had come to be almost synonymous with monopoly, oppression, plutocracy, chicanery and fraud. Labor had come to be very shy of corporations, for corporations were its arch foes, and its experience with them had justified in a measure its prejudice against competitive labor, it was a bad thing—for labor.

Because government has permitted the monopolization of land and the right of the private owner to withhold it from use in whatever amount or degree, just in that degree must labor suffer and industrial progress be retarded. The co-operative ownership and cultivation of land as of all producing means, is today the most immediate remedy for the industrial evils that afflict the people and which find their expression in multitudes of unemployed and a general lowering of the moral tone of society; but it can only be effected little by little, by establishing and putting into operation a system that approximates such an effect and guarantees a continuing progress towards its complete realization. The evolutionary trend of the times is against irresponsible, private control of land holding and labor employing corporations of any kind. Industrial power, whether wielded by private capitalists or co-operative producing companies must be made responsible to some adequate and satisfactory authority, and be, at all times, subject to its supervision and inspection.

World Federation

(Continued from page 18)

equality.

But such a settlement can never be brought about so long as either party to the struggle refuses to follow the program outlined by President Wilson in declaring that our country "seeks for no advantage, will ask for no indemnities, desires no annexations," as the result of any share that we may have in this world war.

That program will not be adopted except by the further reconstruction of the governing powers within the warring states. New elections are threatened, old cabinets are going to pieces, reorganizations of the war powers within the cabinets at home, are more frequent than re-alignments on the field of battle, and every shift carries the power in the direction of the more democratic forces at home.

As war measures, labor has been mobilized; railways, mines, factories, markets, put under government control, prices fixed, the character of the products determined, the feeding of the nations made a part of the military program, and in all these instances, while the reason may have been military, the effect has been in the direction of provision for the public good at the expense of the old time monopolies.

Just because the forces that started the war, and the forces which from time to time have controlled the war, will have small share in the ending of the war, there is at least good ground for hope that this war, the greatest disaster in history, may terminate in a world democracy. If so, it will be the greatest achievement of mankind.

Cold Figures

In Russia, birth control information has not been available to the masses. The death rate per thousand population is 31.

In Germany, information is slightly available, although attended with considerable difficulty. The death rate per thousand population is 17.

In England, where such information is legally permitted to be given to married persons and those contemplating marriage, the death rate per thousand is 14.

In France, the information is easily had, no restrictive laws being in force. The death rate per thousand population is 19. (The birth rate per thousand in France is 10 less than in Germany, however.)

In Holland, there are no restrictive laws, there being government approval of birth control clinics. The death rate per thousand population is 12.

In Australia, there are no restrictive laws. The death rate per thousand population is 11.

In New Zealand, where there are no restrictive laws, the death rate per thousand population is 9.

In the United States, statistics show the birth rate to be much greater than that of Germany, France, England, Holland, Australia, or New Zealand, yet our death rate per thousand population is 17, and our infant death rate is in almost every instance twice as great as those countries in which information on birth control is easily secured.

The reader is left to draw his own conclusions.—A. S.

What Esperanto Means

(Continued from page 24)

to-Asocio and its eighteen hundred representatives in all civilized countries, as well as the large national societies in the leading countries of Europe, the Esperanto movement is ready for any occasion. Even on this side of the Atlantic where, of course, the need for an auxiliary language has not been felt as keenly, the movement has made considerable headway. The national headquarters of the Esperanto Association of North America are located at West Newton, Boston, and today there is not one large city from New York to San Francisco without its Esperanto club. All of which merely goes to show that the day is not far distant when—

Sur neutrala lingva fundamento,
Komprenante unu la alian,
La popoloj faros en konsento
Unu grandan rondon familian.

Our Salacious Public

(Continued from page 27)

Censorship cannot remedy this evil. No amount of coercion can eradicate it. The solution of the problem lies solely in education. People of discernment, appreciative of the higher things of life, must be ever vigilant publicly to disapprove salacious, demoralizing productions, and enthusiastically to commend those worthy of attendance.

In this manner only can the standard of theatricals be elevated.—A. S.

—o—
"The December-January number of the "Comrade" was a FINE number."—Clara Cushman, Santa Ana, California.

The International Language

Esperanto

simplifies the language problems, opens up a new world of literature, gives one a much better understanding of his mother-tongue, enables him to correspond with people all over the world, and all this at a comparatively small outlay of time or money.

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M

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Trustworthy, responsible, competent agents are desired in different communities to represent the colony and to interest desirable persons in this enterprise.

Only men and women of constructive minds, self-sacrificing disposition, and energy are wanted. If you are willing to work for the good of a great cause in a wholly constructive way, you are invited to correspond with the Membership Department and to get the Representatives Proposition. Persons actuated only by self-interest need not apply.

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THE LLANO PUBLICATIONS

Stables, Louisiana

The Spirit Teaching Of India

(Continued from Page 13)

have no beginning. As this present life will be a pre-existence to a future life; so the present must have been preceded by other lives; but the Soul is always the same in past, present and future.

The practical part of the teaching of Vedanta is called Yoga, which means literally "joining" or union, like the English word "yoke." It offers certain methods for the training of the mind and body, to make them fit instruments for the manifestation of the perfection already in us. There is no mystery in it, as many suppose. It is a science based on the direct observation and experience of perfected Yogis or illumined Sages, and is a clear, logical system for the unfolding of our spiritual nature. It teaches us how to stop frittering our energies and to unite all our mental and physical forces into one strong current, which will carry us to supreme realization.

Yoga is divided into four principal paths to suit different temperaments. Karma-Yoga is the path of work and shows us how to perform our duties without creating bondage; Raja-Yoga teaches us how to control both our internal and external nature; Bhakti-Yoga is the path of love and devotion, while Jnana-Yoga leads us by the path of intellectual discrimination. But although these seem like four distinct methods, we must try to combine all in our daily practice; for no character is perfect which is lacking in any of these qualifications. Yet as in every character one tendency invariably predominates, that determines the special path. All, however, lead to the same goal.

From the crudest form of symbol worship to the loftiest conception of abstract truth, every phase of religion has a place in Vedanta. It recognizes the necessity for innumerable forms of worship to suit the varying degrees of development among human beings. It does not interfere with any man's natural way of thinking, but furthers his growth by lending a sympathetic and helping hand wherever he stands. It accepts all the Sacred Scriptures of the world and bows down in reverence before all the Saviors and prophets. It believes that the same Gospel of Truth is preached by all; the only difference is in the language, not in the essential meaning. It teaches one how to attain the highest in this own religion, but tells him he must allow the same freedom to his brother. Thus it leaves no place for discussion; but seeing the One Divine Power behind all forms of worship, it proclaims universal tolerance and assimilation.

* * *

LLANO COLONIST READERS

Due to mechanical and other difficulties, the "Llano Colonist" will not be re-published for several months yet. It will be revived, however, and it will be bigger and better than ever. We have been waiting in order that when we did start, we could greatly improve it in size and quality.

Those who have subscribed for the Colonist will kindly be patient and they will be rewarded with the improved weekly which shall come later.

The new weekly will be called "The Co-operative Socialist." It will be a six-column paper, carrying the latest Socialist and labor news, feature articles, news of the Llano del Rio Colony, and a feature editorial page.

The Llano Publications

Real Estate Bargains

The following properties are among those that have been listed for sale or trade with the LLANO LAND BUREAU. Many of these are exceptional BARGAINS. As more and more property is listed, it becomes possible to offer a variety in all portions of the country. Those who wish to sell or trade or by, or knowing of others who wish to buy, are invited to correspond with the LLANO LAND BUREAU. **NO COMMISSIONS ARE CHARGED** those expecting to come to the Llano Colony.

TEXAS.—Gregg County. 405 acres on Sabine river, five miles from Gladewater. 60 acres in cultivation; improvements; pine and oak timber. \$20 an acre. Terms to suit purchaser.—mbw.

LOUISIANA. Heflin. 100 acres in Bienville Parish. Rolling up-land; all first class. Price \$15 an acre.—jb.

\$1350—House and lot; 6 rooms; lot 33½x150; barn 18x20; long time to pay; at Orbisania, Pa.—gem.

\$1340 cash, Balance \$25 a month, for beautiful home in Liberal, Kansas; will rent for \$30 a month; modern in every way; 10 rooms; will pay out in rented rooms. A real bargain. Trade considered.—alk.

\$200—Business lot in Seadrift, Texas.—dc.

5 Acres; Truck land in oil belt; close to oyster fishing. Seadrift, Texas. This is a bargain at \$1200. Will consider trade.—dc.

4-Room House; large lot; Seadrift, Texas, for \$500.—dc.

2 Lots in Henrico, Virginia, for \$400. Terms.—em

40x80 Lot in New York City for \$800.—gfj.

\$1500 for 111 acres rich land in Washington. Fine fruit district.—gfj

15 acre Cherry Orchard, fenced; 8-room house, barn, running water; \$8000. A producing place; will soon pay itself out.—gfj.

Lot in healthful district of Washington; thriving small town; good investment. Owner must leave.—\$800.—pj

160 Acres in Washington; 1 million feet timber, 12 acres cultivated; house, barn, springs; fine climate; good farm land. \$1500. A bargain.—am.

160 Acres in coast mountains of California; timber. Splendid climate; timber will pay large portion. \$4000.—mep

1280 acres. Los Animas Co., Colo., small bldgs.; Fine bean land, ideal for stock. Sell or trade. \$400.—lmc

4 Acres in close to business district; Twin Falls, Idaho. Splendid opportunity in live town. \$4000.—gee

Business lot Twin Falls, Idaho. \$1700. A bargain.—gee

42 acres at Los Gatos, California. Income of \$4000 a year; health and pleasure resort. Going Business. Good reasons for selling. Price \$20,000. Consider terms.

7-Room Modern House; electricity, toilet bath, 10 minutes walk from business district of Eureka, one of the finest cities of California. Worth \$1350 and a bargain at this price. Will trade.—aej

Modern home at Atascadero, California. 20 fruit trees, splendid climate. \$2500, \$1500 cash, balance mortgage. Will consider trade.—rwv

160 Acres at LaGrande, Ore. 5-room house, 40x20 barn, log black-

smith shop and bunk house, springhouse; 300,000 feet saw timber; 60 acres good farm land; market for wood at \$6 a cord. This is a genuine bargain. Owner had to leave on account of wife's health. \$1800 takes it.—clg.

607 acres in Nebraska, mostly grazing; 40 acres broken; small house, and barn, all fenced and cross fenced, well, windmill and tank. \$6000, to be \$2500 cash, remainder long time. —mjf

\$600 for Six Acres; house; all fenced and all under cultivation. Close to coast. A bargain.—hat

\$3500 for 160 acres in New Mexico; will consider trade; also four lots in Hammond, Okla. for \$700.—pfs

40 acres; Heber Springs, Arkansas; will consider trade. \$1600.—jc.

3 parcels of Land at Chico, California. Trade considered.—jw

TEXAS, near Tomball; 150 acres; 40 acres under fence and cultivation; 5-room House; smoke house and barn; 30 acres more has been cultivated and can easily be put in cultivation; balance cut-over timber land; drainage perfect; has oil indications. Price \$2500. Will consider trade for part. balance five yearly payments of \$250 at 7 percent semi-annually. Immediate possession with crop. This is a splendid deal. Fine climate.—aec

\$450—two lots Stockton, California

\$3250—House and lot in San Francisco

\$3500—Thirty-acre farm, mountains of California; \$2000 for farm without stock. This is an excellent location and good property.

\$500 for ten acres in Florida, suitable for oranges and vegetables.

\$2217 for good business in Iowa town, plumbing and heating.

Florida land—10 acres, partly improved, house and buildings.

160 acres—Kansas, unimproved land, \$2000, sell or trade.

320 acres unimproved Kansas land, \$3200.

240 acres in Texas, 95 in cultivation, two houses, \$20 an acre.

\$2500 for good place in Mississippi.—vle

40 acres in Texas, good improvements, \$75 an acre. Sell or trade.

200 acres Arkansas land, improvements, orchard and house, stock, tools, implements included; all for \$6000. Sell or trade.

165 acres Texas for \$10,000. Terms.

160 acres Texas, unimproved good rice or fig land. \$25 an acre.—aec

20 acres Idaho, \$225 an acre. Liberal Terms.—jcc

\$300 for lot in thriving Alabama town. Sell or trade.

\$400 for 40 acres southern Alabama, unimproved.

\$1600 for 40 acres in Florida. Liberal terms.—alc

\$1500 for house and lot in Grand Rapids, Mich. Rents for \$17.50.

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1917—27,000	1917—14,903
Cleveland	Rochester
1915— 6,000	1916—1,450
1917—27,000	1917—8,200

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THE INTERNATIONALIST
Stables, Louisiana

Own a Plantation Near the Colony

THE COLONY has made arrangements to sell small plantations to those who prefer individual ownership of land.

Now the opportunity is opened for the first time that so many have written about to own land near the Colony, and to enjoy many of the advantages of co-operation.

Land is going up rapidly. It has gone up since the colony located here. In many instances it has doubled. Never again will land be low in price here. The advantages in the Highlands of Western Louisiana are too great to long be passed by.

The land we are offering for sale is productive. Prices range from \$15 to \$50, according to the quality and character of the land and other essential points. Most of it is for cash sales only, though there is some that will be sold on time. While we do not advocate purchasing as a speculation, yet no region in the country offers such promise to profit by the rise in prices. Values are bounding upward.

Those seeking homes will be interested. Building materials are low in price. Equipment is not costly. This land will be sold in tracts to suit. Those wishing it should write immediately, stating the sort of land desired, the price in cash they are able to pay, the number of acres, and such other information as will enable us to write you definitely in reply. The choicest of this land will go rapidly. Now is the time to plan for a home in the South. Address letters inquiring about land to the

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JUNE, 1918

George Bernard Shaw
on The Internation

The Future of the Socialist Party

By RALPH KORNGOLD

Is Compulsory Military Service Desirable?

—A SYMPOSIUM

Christianity and Pacifism

By R. B. WHITAKER

Fighting With Co-operation

By C. F. LOWRIE

The Essence of Theosophy

By SCOTT CLOUGH

Land Secured Memberships

From the very first the question has been asked regarding the security that would be given the investor. Heretofore, it has not been the custom to give such security. But now the arrangements have been completed which permit members to be LAND SECURED.

The Llano Co-operative Colony is the only one which has ever been organized to combine this security of ownership with the advantages of complete co-operation.

Under the new arrangement, every member is taken in on probation. This is protection to the colony, protection to the member himself, protection to every other member.

Under this system, each member may come to the colony on probation. They will not be accepted on any other grounds.

Experience has taught the colony that this is the only just and fair way.

The incoming member is sold a tract of 40 or more acres of land. He is given a deed to this land and it is his. Arrangements are made at the same time to come into the colony as a Probation Member. Probation members will have every right and privilege as regular colony members during the probation period except the right to vote.

At any time during the probation year, the member may make up his mind to take his tract of land instead of remaining in the colony. In this case his contract of employment is annulled, and he is free to do as he wishes regarding his land.

At any time that the Probation Member is found not to be true to the colony's best interests, that he is unfair to the other comrades, or that he fails to do his duty as a colonist or makes himself undesirable, he may have his contract of employment annulled, in which event he may go to his land. This is the colony's protection against the chronic trouble-maker, the person who comes to stir up dissension, the man or woman who is operating within the colony for purposes other than the colony's welfare. The colony has had such persons; it now has a convenient method of ridding itself of them.

At the end of the year, if the new member discovers that he likes the colony, and if in the meantime his records are clean and he is that to be wholly desirable as a colonist, he has the privilege of exchanging his deed to land for stock in the colony, thus becoming a full-fledged member.

WHAT LAND-SECURED MEMBERSHIPS MEAN

In the past there have been persons who found themselves unable to adapt themselves to the colony. Many of them were persons who earnestly desired to do so, and they were much disappointed at not being able to get the pleasure and enjoyment and benefit from the colony that they should have, and that others did. It was not their fault; they simply could not adapt themselves.

Under the new Land-Secured Membership plan, such persons may go to their land, develop it, farm individually, live in close proximity to the colony, and enjoy many of its advantages, and benefits, assisting in the building of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Then there are those who fear that they may not like the colony and fear to put their money into the colony. Under the new Land-Secured Membership plan they do so with the full knowledge that they have one year in which to make up their minds, and that during that year they will be living in the colony and will be employed by the colony. If they decide that they can do better alone, then the privilege is open at all times to do so.

COLONY DEVELOPMENT PLANS

The plan for developing the colony will not be changed in any respect. A large central body of 6000 or more acres of land will be developed for the colony, and will be farmed co-operatively to such crops as are best adapted to this locality as to the soil, and which promise the best returns. The building of a city which shall have the most beauty, the utmost convenience, the greatest efficiency, and the most striking characteristics, combining with these things comfort and originality, will be carried out. No definite time is set; the work will be carried on as rapidly as possible.

The huge 16,000-acre plantation will be developed as rapidly as possible. The 6,000 acres or more reserved for the colony will be developed first. The land securing memberships will be sold contiguous to or near this colony reservation, but not in it, for the colony would not want it cut up into private holdings.

Industries will be established as rapidly as circumstances justify. Those who decide to take their land and farm individually should derive much benefit from the co-operative industries which will be estab-

lished, which will market their goods for them at a saving, which will assist them in purchasing, and which will in other ways secure them a greater share in the product of their labor, and save them from exploitation in many ways.

HOW TO PURCHASE A LAND-SECURED MEMBERSHIP

First send for an Application for Membership form. This must be secured from the Membership Department of the Llano Co-operative Colony at Stables or Leesville, Louisiana. The post office address is Leesville; the colony is a Stables.

This application form will ask many questions. It will be passed on by the Membership Department of the Board of Directors. If it is accepted, the member may then pay out and will be given a deed to a tract of forty acres or more of land.

A membership in the colony is conditional on a year's residence and work in the colony, and cannot be secured before this time. When the full required amount is paid in according to the scale below, the member is permitted to bring his family to the colony, to occupy a colony house and to be employed by the colony just as other members are.

His rate of pay will depend on the prevailing wage being paid, and may vary with conditions, but all stock-holders in the colony are paid according to the same wage scale, no matter what the work they are doing may be. Those who are contemplating ultimate membership are paid on the same basis as regular members, and their families are paid.

A contract of employment is entered into between the prospective member and the colony which states specifically his relation to the colony. When the year is up he becomes a regular member, as heretofore explained.

The cost of memberships was raised on May 1, 1918, and put on a sliding scale as follows:

Single man, \$1,000 Add for wife, \$200 Dependent over 20, \$200 Dependent, 12 to 20, \$150 Dependent under 12, \$100

From this table it will be possible to compute very easily the cost or entrance fee for memberships. This table is based on the cost of maintenance during the first year.

WARNING AGAINST ALLEGED AGENTS

There are various persons and associations purporting to sell stock with membership privileges in the colony.

NO STOCK IS BEING SOLD WHICH GIVES MEMBERSHIP PRIVILEGES!

The only way to become a member in the Llano Co-operative Colony is thru the purchase of LAND-SECURED MEMBERSHIPS. The ownership of stock in the Llano del Rio Company does not of itself give any rights of residence.

Those expecting to purchase stock, those holding stock, and those now under contract of purchase of stock should correspond with the colony. Installment members are particularly warned against purchasing stock from any source other than the main offices of the Membership Department. Several persons have been defrauded by purchasing what they believed to be legitimate stock, carrying working contracts, or the privileges of living and working at the colony. The colony will not be responsible unless these instructions are followed.

NEW MEMBER'S WORKING CONTRACT

During his probation year, the new member will be employed in the colony, working at the industries or on the main body of the colony reservation, the Llano Plantation. He will not work on his own land during that time. He will be in every respect on the same footing as all regular members. He will be paid a wage, live in a colony house, enjoy the benefits and advantages of colony life. Only in the event that he makes himself obnoxious to the other colonists, or himself desires to leave will this be changed. Otherwise at the end of a year he exchanges his land for a regular stock-membership. However, if he decides that he does not like the colony he can at any time go on to his own land and develop it according to his own ideas.

Thus the new Land-Secured Membership does not change the relations of the colony to the member, but merely gives him this additional security. Most of those who come will never go to their land, probably, but will always remain as colonists.

Membership Department

LLANO DEL RIO COLONY
Stables, Louisiana

"The Most Constructive Magazine for Socialism in America."

THE INTERNATIONALIST

Formerly "THE WESTERN COMRADE"

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JOB HARRIMAN.....Managing Editor ALANSON SESSIONS.....Associate Editor ERNEST S. WOOSTER....Business Manager

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Vol. VI.

LEESVILLE, LOUISIANA, JUNE, 1918.

No. 2

EDITORIAL

By Job Harriman

UPON the breaking out of the war, Germany startled the world with siege guns.

Necessity demanded that the Allies employ similar guns for defense.

Again Germany attacked her enemies with poisoned gases. And again the Allies were forced to employ the same methods to save themselves from annihilation.

Again Germany startled the world by dropping bombs from flying machines on London and other, other cities. And again the Allies were forced to meet Germany with similar machines.

Now it is reported that Germany is converting the bodies of those who die from wounds into nitroglycerine while those who are killed outright are said to be converted into oleomargarine for table use.

Is it possible that we will be forced to adopt this course also?

If food will win the war, its efficiency will be measured not by ethical reasons but by the quantity, quality and availability of the supply.

If it is true that 400,000 Germans were killed in two weeks, the supply would seem abundant and the quality sufficient.

Saving this world for democracy seems destined to brutalize the race.

Whether the outcome will be better than it would have been under Wilson's early peace policy is indeed a grave question.

THE railroads, under private ownership, broke down under the stress of business when war demands came upon them.

The Government came to their rescue, put affairs in order, increased the efficiency, handled vastly larger amounts of freight and made a larger profit than the railroads have made in previous years.

Therefore:- The law provides that the Government should return the roads to private control soon after the war is over.

What fools we mortals be!

THE first installment of wealth conscription is now on.

Why not?

If it is right to conscript human energy, it must be right to conscript the product of human energy.

What was wrong under old conditions may become right under new conditions.

If it has become right by reason of necessity for the governments of the earth to conscript the wealth of the nations, it may yet become right for the common ple of the world to conscript the bonded indebtedness of the world.

Necessity knows no law.

NONRESISTANCE in Russia, if properly understood, will become a most powerful factor against Germany and indeed, world, autocracy.

The war was started by Germany on the theory of the defense of the fatherland against Russia.

To this standard the German people rallied.

But the war is being ended by the annexation of vast nonresistant Russian territory.

Against this standard the German people will rebel.

The German people, led by the German Socialists, are with the people of Russia and against the despotism of the Kaiser.

The people of the Central Powers fear a victory by the Allied governments.

The people of the Allied countries fear a victory by the governments of the Central Powers.

But the people of either belligerent power do not fear the people of the other.

An offer by the Allies to the German people to open the ports and the water highways of the world to all peoples alike; to disarm all nations; to abandon all ideas of victory; to abandon the idea of conquest or forcible annexation; to grant absolute freedom and self-government to every people; to establish a United States of the World,—this would start a revolution in Germany and end the war with the downfall of autocracy.

WAR profits have trebled the number of millionaires and quadrupled the number of multimillionaires since 1914, and their high prices have impoverished the people that made such fortunes possible.

Wages have been increased a little, but prices have gone up enormously.

The difference in the advance in prices over wages expresses the amount of which labor has been robbed.

The earnings of labor therefore, should not be touched until all the profits and property of the profiteers have been taken.

1. Conscription of the profits of the profiteers.
2. Conscription of the wealth of the profiteers.
3. Conscription of all other wealth proportionately.
4. Conscription of the bonded indebtedness, if necessary.

If the war is right, this program is right.

The people will support the program while food lasts.

The profiteers will fight it.

Their patriotism is born of profits.

Their war fever will die with wealth conscription.

Wealth conscription will last while the war lasts, even though conscription takes also the dregs.

We are in the war, and wealth as well as life will pay the penalty.

THE conservation of food is now the all important world question.

Wheatless days, porkless days, meatless days, with prices soaring higher and ever higher, means that a famine is rising like a wave of creeping paralysis over the world.

What has hitherto been a world question is now

rapidly becoming a personal question.

The war is forcing us to Hooverize food. The famine will force us to Fletcherize it.

Hooverizing food is reducing the quantity.

Fletcherizing food is chewing it until it is a liquid and all taste is gone, before swallowing.

If Fletcherized, one half the food we now eat will nourish us better than we are now nourished.

Our lives will soon be judged by this standard.

The day of judgment is near at hand. The judge is stern and relentless. His name is Famine and his judgment is "Fletcherize or death!"

WE ARE all very freakish at times. Ideas that are approved today are condemned tomorrow.

Some like the thought because they like the man who uttered it.

Later, if they form a dislike for the man, they dislike the thought.

This seems impossible, but it is true even among Socialists. We have known men to approve our editorials, and object only because they wished the editorials were more radical. Later, while angry, they disapproved them, thought they were too radical, and sought to arouse the authorities against us because we wrote them.

This is a terrible picture of a Socialist mind.

He is not a Socialist?

Tell him so and a fight is on.

The fight will convince him that he is and you that he is not, a Socialist.

It is apparent that an editor of a Socialist magazine has a difficult road to travel.

If he is too radical, the authorities will suppress him.

If he is too conservative, the Socialists will repudiate him.

If he is not absolutely clear and concise, his enemies will misconstrue him.

Yet hope sustains and charity makes life sweet.

ENGLAND and the United States have recently seized many Dutch ships and put them into service.

The conservative press finds that this is a violation of international law and holds up its hands in holy terror against the act, crying "No precedent!" "No law!"

Of course, there is no law. All law ends when war begins. Were the old laws sufficient, wars would not develop.

Being insufficient, and all commercial nations being

unable to agree upon a new rule of action, they resort to arms.

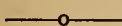
During hostilities they do whatsoever they have the power to do in line with their interests.

Such acts become the rule of action for the future.

Hitherto, it has been wrong, but henceforth it will be right to seize the ships of weaker neutral powers and to press them into service.

Thus commercial law is born and its wisdom (?) manifested.

Who is so blind that he cannot see the degrading tendencies of brute force?



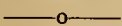
LOVE!

LOVE sets a premium upon good character by sending a thrill of joy through the heart of the right-doer for every righteous act. Thus it blazes a pathway of ever-increasing happiness through a world of tribulations, to a haven of blissful wisdom.

It opens the heart and mind of all by the touch of its magic wand.

It demands honesty and good faith and yields in return absolute liberty.

It opens beautiful fields of activity on every hand and bids its children welcome.



GREED!

GREED undermines and destroys character; adds ambition to power and bitterness, and anguish of heart to both.

It leads into entangled briers and quagmires, blinding its eyes with deceit and robbing itself of understanding.

It closes every honest heart and mind against it, uses treachery as its stepping-stone upon which it descends into intellectual bondage.

It pillages every field it enters, ravishes everything it touches, bewilders every heart in which it dwells, and makes enemies of all.



AFTER a year of struggle and disappointment, the Socialist party of the United States is beginning to see that the policy outlined by the Majority report adopted at St. Louis was a profound mistake.

It goes without saying that Socialists have always opposed war. For a quarter of a century we saw conditions developing that were leading directly to this cataclysm and we did all within our power to avert it. But it came.

Now that the country is engulfed, what shall the Socialists do? What stand shall we take?

Upon this question the Socialists are not agreed.

Some are opposed to taking part in the war; some are in favor of it. The same is true of the entire citizenship.

Those who are opposed to the war are, for the most part, believers in the doctrine of pacifism. They are not cowards. They will die for their convictions. Neither are those who believe in war cowards. They will die for their convictions. No man is a coward who will lay down his life for his convictions.

The pacifist would rather be killed than to kill. We find pacifists among the Socialists and among all religious denominations. We find them also among the general citizenship.

What are we to do with those who oppose war because they believe it wrong to kill—who would be killed before they would kill?

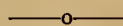
What shall we do with this fact?

Every pacifist, who, upon oath, declares that he would not take life, should be excused from combatant service, just as a juryman who is opposed to capital punishment is excused from jury service.

I am more than confident that, as a compromise, ninety-five percent of the pacifists would render most efficient non-combatant service while they would die or go to prison rather than render combatant service.

Opening the opportunity for non-combatant service to all such persons would unite the forces in the United States in a manner that each could render service in keeping with his conscience.

Better by far have a united country with the service of all in this manner, than a disunited country, however large or small the factions may be.



ARE the Socialists of Russia responsible for German success in the far East?

Many capitalist papers and magazines are flaunting this theory before the world.

They are still clinging to capitalism.

They do not know it is dying.

They do not know it is dead in Russia.

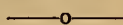
They do not know that the new order is being born now among the Slavs.

They do not scent the decay of the old.

They will not know the new when it comes.

Forgive them: they know not what they do. They belong to the dying past.

Let the dead bury their dead.



HOPE dwells in the mansion of prospective possibilities.

Despair dwells in the mansion of prospective impossibilities.

Will Birth Control Decrease Prostitution?

NO one can give a guaranteed answer to this question. The evidence is not all in. But judging from the experience of those countries where birth control information has been most easily and longest accessible, and considering some of the most persistent impulses in human nature, it is a fair prophecy that birth control will substantially lessen prostitution.

The two sorts of men who mostly patronize prostitutes are the young men, who cannot afford to marry, and the married men whose relations with their wives are rendered abnormal by the fear of unwanted pregnancy. Knowledge of reliable scientific methods of contraception can hardly fail to lessen the prostitution evil in both instances.

Nothing in modern civilization is more tragic and more of an outrage upon nature than that young people of the mating age should be driven by economic necessity to lead lives that are either sexually starved or sexually perverted. More and more young men and women are afraid to marry for fear they cannot pay the bills of a family.

Can they be blamed? Even before the war, the cost of living was going up steadily, and the average father of a family was earning less than \$500 per year. Since the war, the purchasing power of the dollar has dropped to 47c and the average increase in wages is not more than 20 percent. In some occupations there has been no increase whatever. Under such circumstances to deliberately bring little folks into the world becomes almost criminal. To do it unintentionally is to be victimized by a cruel situation in which the parents suffer, the children suffer, and society suffers. But this is what people face, who marry without knowledge of birth control.

How different is the case with knowledge? Then the young folks can naturally marry when they fall in love—say in their early twenties. They can spend the first few years getting adjusted to each other while both of them are earning money. They can hope to tuck away a little safety bank account for the babies, and then—say in their late twenties or early thirties—they can let the babies come, knowing that they will be welcomed, and will be fairly secured from want.

Under such circumstances; with mental strain and nervous apprehension reduced to the minimum, well-mated young married people are free to develop a secure companionship that not only provides a splendid foundation for the family, but it serves as the best possible preventive of the abnormal conditions which lead a man to patronize a prostitute.

It is a fair conclusion also that birth control information will go a long way toward stabilizing marriage itself as well as diminishing prostitution. The fear of unwished pregnancy is doubtless one of the largest factors in killing love. Many a couple who have lived through tragedy and separation, would today be together and happy if only they had known enough to "space" their babies as they wanted them, and had been spared that nerve-racking constant terror of discovering that another unwanted baby was coming.

There are relatively few men who prefer prostitution to natural mating. It is a perversion which is acquired largely because of unjust economic conditions and ignorance of how to make and keep love relations free from disastrous complications. Birth Control is not a cure-all for every human woe, but it is a help that can hardly be overestimated in view of the suffering which the lack of it entails. And when the

country once rescues the subject from the shocking legal connection it has had with obscenity and immorality in our out-of-date statutes, which make it a crime to give contraceptive information, it will be clear that birth control is in harmony with nature and evolution instead of against it, that it is biologically sound and socially beneficial.

Nature gave us our brains to use, and we cannot satisfy our hunger or our need for clothes or for shelter without using our brains. It is equally true that we cannot satisfy our sex impulses successfully without the use of our brains. Unaided nature is cruel if we do not intelligently co-operate and control and conquer.

—MARY WARE DENNETT.

Is Birth Control Dangerous to Women's Health?

THIS QUESTION is often asked and the answer is—NO! The beginning of any new life consists of the conjunction of the male and female germ. There really need be no mystery about it for nature follows pretty much the same rule throughout all her kingdoms. Go to the flowers.

Suppose we take a peep into Luther Burbank's garden and we shall probably find that several flowers are covered with white gauze. This is done to control the fertilization of the plant—to prevent conception taking place, except when the gardener wishes it. The flower is the sex organ of the plant. And now it is in order to ask, does this control injure the plant? Any gardener who knows his business will smile and say, no. It is through this means that the human mind is able to improve the flower or rather the plant, or better still, the species.

But supposing this was a great secret and an ignorant bungler came along and used a red or a black cover instead of the white or sprayed it with poisonous substance, most assuredly it would injure the flower. There is a right way and a wrong way of doing everything. There is no doubt that thousands of ignorant, ill-informed people injure themselves because no clean hygienic means of birth control is allowed to be taught. It is just exactly this that the birth control movement came into the field to do away with. Most ill-informed people firmly believe that birth control consists of abortion or the taking of poisonous medicine, and that fakery and grafters of all kinds flourish on this ignorance. Also the medical profession flourishes on this ignorance. But, of course, far be it from me, a mere lay member, to accuse that honorable body of wanting to keep the general mass of people in ignorance on this matter, for any economic reason or professional interest. However, the family with a fairly well-filled purse never had any trouble in getting this information from the family physician, while the poor mother and father get nothing as a rule except a professional smile or a benevolent shake of the honorable head.

"The information of birth control would ruin all our young girls," asserted a benevolent doctor. "But, dear sir," I protested, "who says we are in the field to teach young girls birth control? Besides, if the human race has produced nothing but a tribe of potential mothers who are as irresponsible as animals, we may as well call it off and confess that human evolution is a huge failure."

The fact of the matter is that the majority of normal boys and girls would have a very high ideal of parenthood and personal purity provided they were taught as much cold facts about their sex function as they are taught about the function

(Continued on Page 35)

The Story of American Socialism

By Lincoln Phifer, Editor "The New World."

I. THE COLONIZING PERIOD

Chapter 6.

THE CAPITALISTIC COLONY

THE MERE FACT that the Icarians had lost chiefly through land swindles calls attention to the further fact that during the period that marked the drama they played on the stage of America, capitalist control of industry for purposes of exploitation had developed strongly in this country. It gained its first strength chiefly through manipulations of large bodies of land, until it became a force stronger than the altruism that wished to use the land for nobler purposes. The new force began to exercise its influence on the community proposition in a way which embraces all the elements of incongruity that make it deliciously humorous. A capitalistic proposition that turned into a communistic society and then reverted to the capitalistic form came as the inverted climax to the drama of the communities.

This variation of the religious colony was brought about by Joseph Noyes about 1834. The first point of difference between it and other colonies lay in the fact that the promotor was a native of America instead of a foreigner. The second divergence came through the establishment of manufacture as the basis of the colony, instead of agriculture, as with the other colonies. A third line of demarcation lay in the fact that it began as a joint stock proposition.

The Oneida community was at its inception a family enterprise, amounting to a partnership. As others expressed a desire to join the work, and as the writings of Cabot began to influence the whole people, communistic features were added. The communistic idea was, therefore, in this case, an afterthought, while in the other communities it was the prime concept. The company first and then the community manufactured steel traps, traveling bags, and silks, and engaged in the preservation of fruits. Everything they did was well done, and the community acquired the reputation of reliability. Yet, up to 1857, the operations of the community showed a loss of about \$40,000. Then, however, a profit began to develop, and within ten years the community grew rich. The product for which it attained a national and last reputation was "community silver," consisting of table ware.

In doctrines the Oneida community developed characteristic features. It was among the very first institutions in the world to pronounce itself favoring total abstinence from intoxicants, and opposition to chattel slavery. In religious matters it was no less remarkable. It advocated and permitted "freedom of love," yet under such conditions that it was anything but licentious. The three doctrines mentioned, however, did not meet general approval. Consequently the colonists came in for severe criticism. Churches especially denounced them on account of their "freedom of love in practice and doctrine." It is quite likely that the charges made in later years against the Marxian Socialists was an echo of the old fight against this isolated body of utopians calling themselves socialists while being in reality co-operative capitalists.

After about thirty years, the "Perfectionists," as they called themselves, abandoned the community, resolving themselves into a joint stock company.

Noyes, the founder of the community, possessed high literary attainments, and was the first historian of American

colonies. The very fact that he was the historian indicates that the curtain had been run down on the drama. The unities were completed, and the ending was capitalistic, as though to call attention to the new force that was in control of things. The drama of the colonies had been picturesque, heroic, full of action, combined with the most somber pathos and delicate humor, and through it all there ran high resolve and deep philosophy. It had developed a literature of its own. It had produced a philosophy most beautiful, and advanced new, great ideas of its own. It had touched the world.

ECHOES OF THE COLONY WAVES

I. MORMONISM

JOSEPH SMITH, founder of Mormonism, was in the neighborhood of one of the religious colonies, and also near the home of the Fox Sisters. For six months he roomed with an avowed socialist. That he was influenced by these surroundings is plain from his subsequent actions.

Smith began preparation for his work by making a book that claimed both inspiration and authority. In this he had a surer ground for building a permanent movement than any of his predecessors had. When he founded his colony at Zoar, Ohio, he bound them to him with faith that provoked enthusiasm, and the church he organized sent missionaries through all the world. From Ohio his colony moved to Far West and Independence, Mo. It prospered, but met opposition from his neighbors. Finally, it was forced to leave Missouri and took refuge in Illinois. Here it grew, accumulated wealth and began to exercise a strong political influence, Smith even announcing himself as a candidate for president. Probably it was the disturbing element in politics more than anything else that led to the persecution of the Mormons in Illinois, culminating in the killing of Smith and his brother, Hiram.

Brigham Young was chosen the new president of Mormonism, and, selling the Nauvoo lands to the Icarians, prepared to seek a home in the distant west. The journey of the Mormons to Utah is one of the most daring and romantic things in American history. The taming of the desert by these spiritualists and co-operators under autocratic control is a marvel of achievement. And through it all, they sent missionaries throughout all the world, established new colonies in other states and even in other nations, and attained a political power that dominated the west for many decades. But the practice of polygamy led to a split in the church, and a new Mormonism was established with headquarters at Independence, Missouri, near Kansas City. This branch prospered and grew. Both elements have persisted to the present, and seem to have a permanence that is predicated, doubtless, on religious beliefs and practices more than on co-operation. Yet both freely admit that it was early co-operation that enabled them to accomplish the remarkable work they did, and it is a peculiar kind of co-operation that makes good their boast that there are no pauper Mormons.

o o o

2. OTHER RELIGIOUS COLONIES

The Perfectionist movement had as its central thought the second coming of Christ. Long after it had its day, Peter Armstrong, an Adventist preacher, claimed he was inspired

to select a retired community for the reception of the 144,000 saints during the last days of trial. Accordingly, he arranged to buy 2500 acres of land in the Alleghenies, in Pennsylvania. The land was solemnly deeded to Almighty God. The Armstrong family renounced allegiance to all earthly governments, and then for nine years he, his wife and seven children labored in preparing the land for the future work. Finally they were joined by four others. He published a paper at the time, which he called "Celestial," termed the Day Star of Zion, which attained a moderate circulation and awakened much enthusiasm. It appeared that hundreds were ready to join the colony, when, being unable to make a living, Armstrong abandoned the land and moved to Philadelphia.

During the Millerite excitement in 1843, Frederick T. Howland founded a colony on the farm of Leonard Fuller in the neighborhood of Boston, called Adonai-Shomo. Some of the colonists introduced revolting practices and made extravagant claims that resulted in the breaking up of the colony.

The Mennonites, Germans who lived in Russia, fled from Europe to avoid going to war, and established numerous communities in various portions of the United States. Each of these communities bought about 30,000 acres of land and contained some 125 members. They farmed, raised stock, and prospered. Many of the communities still exist, the colonists commanding high esteem from their neighbors, and being financially well fixed.

Thomas L. Harris, after a successful ministry in other churches, became a spiritist and founded, in 1851, the Mountain Cove community of spiritists. The experiment was short lived. Afterward he founded the Brockton community in New York. It attracted men and women of culture. This failed, and he later established a colony in California, at Santa Rosa. Here he started what he called The Brotherhood of the New Life.

Cyrus W. Teed, who called himself Koresh, devised a new system of cosmogony and religion, and attracted followers, leading them to the establishment of a colony at Eastero, Floriad. The colony is still in existence, although its founder has passed on. He claimed to be under supernatural control.

At Benton Harbor, Michigan, "Benjamin and Mary" have a community which they call The House of David. There are colonies with similar religious tenets at other points. They prosper and have many conveniences and beautiful surroundings in their communistic homes.

Dr. J. B. Newbrough, of New York City, about 1882 published a large and striking volume, called "Oahspe," purporting to have been received from the spirit world by automatic writing. One of its instructions was to take New York waifs and raise them into good citizens in a community far removed from contaminating influences. Accordingly, a community was established later on in New Mexico, called Shalem, and referred to as the Children's land. Inhabitants of the community were allowed to live much as they pleased, except that they were not allowed to own houses or lands that they did not actually use, and had to contribute a tenth of their income to the support of the orphans that were brought in from the slums of the cities. Many children were raised into good citizenship. But the community fell into disuse when the children who were adopted at its inception grew up. The cult based on Oaspe, however, is a growing force to this day.

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III. SOCIALIST COMMUNITIES

Robert Owen had dreamed of a colony in Mexico. In

1870 Albert K. Owen, a civil engineer, no relation of Robert, came upon an inland sea in Mexico, which the Indians called Topolombarpo. The site charmed him, and he interested others in the project that came to him, of starting a communistic colony there. They obtained a grant of 30,000 acres from the Mexican government. The land was laid out, a third being devoted to public grounds, parks and sites for founders were not prepared for such a contingency, and public buildings. Then advertisements were inserted in many papers for colonists. Hundreds without means, and sometimes without health, appeared at the colony site. The appeal had to be made for funds to support the colonists until buildings could be erected and land brought under cultivation. The ground was poor and far from markets. The colony finally was moved to the coast. Here a system of irrigation was laid out and begun. But dissensions entered into this purely socialistic colony, many deserted, and finally the Mexican government cancelled the grant, and the enterprise collapsed. The widespread interest it had awakened is shown in that seventeen states of the United States, besides Canada and Mexico, were represented among the colonists.

After J. A. Wayland made a success of the "Coming Nation" at Greensburg, Indiana, he projected the Ruskin colony at Ruskin, Tenn. Everyone who contributed \$100 or secured 200 subscribers to the paper was reckoned a member. The land was bought without being seen and was of poor quality. The colonists went on this land, and had to cut timber and build huts in which to live. The newspaper moved to this primitive camp. Conditions were so bad during the first winter that the suffering colonists were moved to seek a new location. They now selected land with a fine cave and spring on it, still in Tennessee. Here they planned big things. They had a rousing Fourth of July celebration in the cave. The colony grew, and built, beside many residences, a large printing office, a public hall and other improvements. A college was started, and the paper boomed. But dissensions entered. Wayland finally withdrew from the colony. The land and personal property was disposed of at public sale, and the colony removed to Duke, Ga. Here over fifty houses were built, a store, repair shop and public hall erected; manufacture of a cereal coffee, of leather suspenders and of brooms were started; a library of 1500 volumes was founded and woman's clubs were organized. But dissatisfaction entered again. Some of the colonists deserted. Others wanted to move back to Tennessee. A few months later the property of the colony was sold at public auction and the proceeds divided among the members. The "Coming Nation" was discontinued. It was afterwards revived by the Warren brothers, E. N. Richardson and the writer of this, at Rich Hill, Mo., and then again fell into the hands of J. A. Wayland by purchase.

The Colorado Co-operative Company was established by socialists. It claimed to have attained a membership of 300. It was short lived.

The Brotherhood Co-operative Commonwealth of Equality was established by socialists at Equality, Washington, in 1895. The colony existed until 1904 when it went to pieces over internal dissensions.

A Co-operative Brotherhood was started at Burley, Washington, by socialists, in 1898. It gained members from many states and started apparently under favorable conditions. A reorganization later on eliminated many of the co-operative features, and the membership rapidly disintegrated.

The Mutual Home Association was a socialistic community founded at Home, Washington, in 1898. It attained a membership of 155, and then went out of existence.

A community was established at Kansas City with a flourish and promise of wide co-operation, in the early part of the twentieth century, by Vrooman. Domestic troubles caused the collapse of the big plans, Vrooman's wife having the money and shutting down on its expenditure.

Walter Thomas Mills had a school with co-operative, communistic features, at Kansas City, for several years in the early part of this century.

A community was established at Ruskin, Florida by a Miller follower of Vrooman, in the early days of the Marxian movement, having a paper, a college, and not a few industries.

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IV. MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNITIES

Martha McWhirter, a pious Methodist of Texas, received, she said, revelations that prompted her to gather neighboring women together for prayer and development. They not only prayed, but they also managed their meager affairs so that they might have a little money of their own. They even demanded rights for women. They were ostracised and then mobbed. But they continued steadfast and blameless. They finally pooled their savings, worked at odd spells, and from the proceeds built a hotel and steam laundry. Some of their husbands left them for daring to do such unwomanly things. But they persevered and prospered. They became wealthy in common property; then public opinion began to veer toward them. Finally they moved to Washington, D. C., and there with their common property incorporated The Woman's Republic of Washington, D. C. The twenty-four women led blameless and useful lives, agitating for political and other reforms, and as the Republic went to pieces through the death of the membership, its property, according to their previous arrangement, went to the perpetuation of an orphan asylum in Washington.

Madam Modjeska, Henry Sienkiewicz, author of "Quo Vadis," and other Polanders, founded a co-operative agricultural community in Orange county, California. The property purchased was mortgaged and when the indebtedness came due in 1878, it ceased to be.

Katherine Tingley has founded the Universal Brotherhood organization and Theosophical society, a community at Point Loma, California. The membership grew to about 500.

Single taxers have a colony at Fairhope on the gulf in Alabama. It has been in existence for many years, and has a population of about 500. The members lease the land from the company, but own their own homes and improvements, and engage in private enterprises. Land, however, is not held privately or sold, but rather administered by agents of the community.

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I have called these echoes of the five colony movements. First, because they did not represent a concerted effort to accomplish world emancipation; second, they followed in some respect the ideas of one or more of the former movements; and third, they did not take into account the changes that had come since the early colony wave had swept over America. These changes included the Mexican war and the gold rush to California, which had broken over old frontiers and tremendously enhanced individual initiative. They included the development of trading, the creation of roads, the building of canals, the growth of river traffic, the coming of the railroad, the inception of the factory system. Conditions under these sporadic enterprises were very different from conditions when the colony waves came to America. The changed conditions made their success, under the old plans, much more difficult of realization.

The Farce of Frank Bohn

Frank Bohn, once upon a time a Socialist, is one of the renegade comrades who early in the war became infected with the virus of irresponsible patriotism and haughtily, withdrew from the party, denouncing all who remained as satellites of Wilhelm and exponents of kultur.

Frank assures us that while he is enthusiastic about the war, he is dead set against all that savors of militarism.

Now, we must confess that we have been slightly twisted up by Mr. Bohn on this subject of militarism. Not very long ago, in the now defunct "New Review," he was very positive that a citizen army was the acme of absurdity. He KNEW it was, because he had studied the thing, and had served in the army. Moreover, he denounced a democratic army as a stand-menace to the right of Labor to rebel.

Yet, Mr. Bohn now maintains that the reason Germany is and has been a menace to democracy and liberty is because of her autocratically picked and trained army—that such an organization has poisoned the psychology of the German people, and has made them subservient to the will of the junkers.

Mr. Bohn says that a citizen army is a farce. May we suggest that the socialism of Frank Bohn is something of a farce, also?

—A. S.

Roosevelt Rants

Theodore Roosevelt pours out the vials of his wrath on the Bolsheviki. He exoriates them for their disloyalty to the Allies. He denounces them for referring to America as a capitalist nation. He says:

"We have had many evil capitalists in the United States, but on the whole the worst capitalists could not do the permanent damage to the farmers and workingmen in America which these foreign and native Bolsheviki would do if they had the power."

Utter rot! Mr. Roosevelt is either mendacious or he is the ignoramus on social questions that many believe him to be. Who was responsible for the Bisbee deportations? The capitalists. Who was responsible for the St. Louis program? The capitalists again. Did not Senator Johnson of California prove that the American Fleet Corporation was deliberately grafting on the United States government to the tune of several million dollars? How about the recent revelations of corruption and graft concerning Swift and Armour? We make the flat statement that CAPITALIST GREED HAS DONE MORE TO PARALYZE THE EFFICIENCY OF OUR WAR PREPARATIONS, A THOUSAND TIMES, THAN THE SPORADIC OPPOSITION OF ANTI-WARISTS.

Mr. Roosevelt is the unconscious tool of sinister capitalist interests that are daily securing a firmer grip on the destinies of the American people.

—A. S.

No matter how loyally we stand behind the boys with bayonets across the sea, it is still eternally true that no man who knows him can conceive of Jesus Christ driving a bayonet through a human brother's breast.—"Our Dumb Animals."

The United States produces about two thirds of the world's output of crude petroleum, and has produced about 2,750,000,000 barrels since the first oil well was drilled in 1895.—"Scientific American."

Every man replaced in an industrial plant costs the management from \$10 to \$300, depending on skill and ability.—"Engineering and Contracting."

Colony Development

ONE THOUSAND ACRES of the colony land will soon be under fence. Nearly half this area is now fenced and will be under cultivation this year. The colony is going in for food production exclusively, and on this land will be grown corn, peanuts, sugar cane, beans, and acres and acres of vegetables in the garden.

The corn is up, the peanuts are being planted, the cane is sprouting nicely, the beans are coming through the soil and promise a good stand. Every where over the great Llano Plantation there is grass enough to feed thousands of head of cattle.

Down in the gardens the cabbage is firm and crisp and beginning to head. The tomatoes stand in long rows. There are several acres of them, and the small cannery which the colony purchased this year will be put to work canning tomatoes in the summer.

There are egg plants and peppers, potatoes, and sweet potatoes, melons—all kinds of them—squash, pumpkins, radishes, lettuce, and all the things that go into the garden. They are doing nicely and look well. The hot beds are still producing plants to be set into the ground.

Three months ago the land where the garden is was mostly brush. Now it is growing garden. The urge throughout the South this year is that food be produced. The Llano Plantation is heeding this fact, and though established but a very few months is already claimed as the largest plantation in Vernon Parish. The energy of the Llano workers, their determination to put their land under cultivation as rapidly as possible, and their steady effort is winning results.

It is also impressing the kindly disposed neighbors in Leesville who recognize the value to this parish of the sort of work that the colonists are doing. The value of the land is more than doubled the first year by the work put on it.

Some time ago the workers asked for a nine-hour day. They didn't exactly go on strike for it, but they demanded it. This is quite contrary to the usual procedure. Instances where the workers have demanded a nine-hour day instead of the eight-hour day they have been enjoying are sufficiently rare to excite comment.

The Colony needs equipment, horses, mules, implements. It requires machinery and seed and all of the things that new farmers on new farms require everywhere. But it is getting them and it is making progress. It has shown what can be done by foresight and labor, by co-operative and carefully directed effort.

This year it has been necessary to use the methods of the farmers here. Single plows have been used because they were the only ones that could be used. The greatest result from the amount of energy expended could not be secured, because the methods to achieve this result could not be put into operation. But next year it will be possible to make greater progress.

With the crops growing, with the animals housed, with the people cared for, with the printshop running and the commissary in operation, the colony can begin planning for other work. For instance, there is the dance hall to be built in the park. Just in front of the hotel is the most beautiful natural park of forty acres. This is to be made into an amusement park. First to be built will be a dance hall. It will be a pavilion. The floor is here and ready to be used. The lumber for the roof is cut and ready for use. There is material for the sides which will be left mostly open. When the dance hall is built it is expected that the Llano Plantation

dances will shortly become one of the features of Vernon Parish. It is planned to make the dancing floor more than 100 feet long and about 33 feet in width. Flanking the floor will be refreshment parlors, wherein can be sold coffee and ice cream and cake and other dainties.

At present the dances are held in the big dining room of the hotel and they are well attended. There is never less than a six-piece orchestra. The music is excellent, comparing more than favorably with the music furnished by high-priced imported orchestras. One of the colonists who has been away for a year, and who is passionately fond of dancing, says the dances at the colony are more enjoyed by him than any dances he has attended in all the time he has been away.

Another social feature that has not been much spoken of is the Sunday night entertainment, which always furnishes some good musical numbers, and frequently has other good things to offer.

At both the entertainments and the dances there are many visitors. The popularity of the colony entertainments is growing. No charge for admission is made. Those of the colony who have talents give of them freely.

The social life of the colony is what grips and holds in spite of hardships and privations. There is a fascination about it that cannot be broken. Colonists who are away and who write back to friends rarely fail to mention this as the big outstanding feature of colony life which they remember above all else. With no profits made, with no greed of commercialism entering, with each performer giving freely of the best he has, there is a genuine reason why the social life is so pleasant. And it is only fair to add that colony audiences are never cruelly critical, never fail to appreciate and are always ready to encourage. It is a kindliness of spirit that is not manifested where entertainment is paid for. The absolute sanity of the colony life is the key to its wonderful success.

The colony has the best orchestra for many miles around. With a great floor and with free dances and good music, there should be an excellent attendance at the dances. This is one of the ways by which the colony will become acquainted with its neighbors.

Machinery for the saw mill is here but is not set up. Neither is the shoe shop set up. Farming takes precedence just now and will continue to do so. Every man who can be spared is kept at work at some phase of farm work.

Letters come in every day asking what progress is being made. When there is nothing to record but the building of miles of rail fence, there is little to write about. It is picturesque, this fence building in the Abe Lincoln style, but it is not exciting, and once mentioned there is little left for a follow-up story. This is also true of the garden. It is growing and promises to furnish a large proportion of the sustenance of the colony for several months to come. Field crops, too, promise liberal returns, as measured by the standards of this country, and if intelligently handled return an incredible per cent on the investment.

This is a country rich in many natural products. The great abundance of timber solves the fuel and building problem to a large measure. The woods are a thicket of berry bushes, thickly laden with fruit that today, May 1st, is becoming red and will soon be black and sweet and luscious, furnishing fruit for those who will harvest it. There are

(Continued on Page 37)

The Menace of a United States of the World

THE great abyss which now threatens to engulf the race is the proposal for a United States of the World. It is a vast and unthinkable conspiracy against human life. Every free soul will resist with all his powers such an attempt to organize life into one final monopoly. Such an outcome of the war would mark the triumph of that mechanical genius which has made civilization the greatest enemy of man. It would mean that in an attempt to gain facility, life had become dehumanized. It would mean that shameful capitulation of freedom known as a "moral triumph." It would signify that man was fast losing that most precious of all rights—the right to be a criminal.

For organization is the great enemy of life. It represents an invasion of life for the purpose of crushing out what is novel, unique, eccentric and unforeseeable—in short, that which is vital and personal. Organization enlists in the service of life with a covert motive. With high professions of humility and willingness to serve, it enters the realm of life, only to spy out the land for an eventual mechanical occupancy. Once within that vital realm, organization extends its mechanical sway to the outmost bounds of human life, sets up a mechanical tyranny and touches life with static death. Once organization has invaded life, the finer human gestures give way to mechanical processes, and the cry of the human is lost in the rumbling of the machine.

My brothers, this is death. Unless men of all races and nations rise in universal revolt against the tyranny of mechanical order and form as seen in nations and inter-nations, the human cannot survive.

When States unite to "protect" men, humanity will become a prostitute in their midst. Verily, the machines have become "righteous," and are uniting to impose moral order upon the world. Let us understand then, that when machines

become "moral" it is time for men to become "immoral." When organization conspires with morality to defeat life, then "criminals" become the saviors of the race.

The hour has struck when free men everywhere must espouse revolt as an ultimate creed and proclaim the absolute and divine right of self.

—FLOYD HARDIN.

Written Specially for THE INTERNATIONALIST

The Outlook for a United States of The World

By George Bernard Shaw

THERE is no outlook for a United States of the World. A United States of the World is tomfool nonsense. When Anacharsis Klotz made the French Revolution ridiculous by his Deputation of The Human Race, it became necessary to guillotine him. His ghost is trying to walk at present; and the sooner that, too, is guillotined, the better.

What is possible is a combination of the States which accept Democracy, and are virtually homogeneous in civilization, with the object of establishing international and supernational law, and renouncing their "sovereign rights" to the extent to which such law can be established, the main immediate purpose being to abolish war, which now threatens the very existence of civilization. The combination, though it must be large enough to make an armed attack on it an insane enterprise, must not be too large to be manageable; and it must be really homogeneous: mere alliances are no use except for military purposes between men of different color, different mind, different morals, and different stages of political evolution.

The obvious nucleus for the first combination (for there will be more than one in the world) is the present alliance between the United States of America, the British Empire, and the French Republic. To make it effective, the German Empire must be added; and the problem just now is how to qualify Germany for admission by knocking Democracy into her and Imperialism out of her. If we had completely knocked the Imperialism out of ourselves, the task would be easy; but as it is, we have not trusted Democracy enough in our own countries to trust it in another, or to ask others to trust it. We must therefore wait until the war knocks Imperialism out of all of us. When that is done, the rest will almost do itself. With Democracy solid from the Carpathians to the Rockies we should have the material for quite as much supernationalism as we could possibly handle to begin with. The Federation of the World may be left to those who are in a hurry to bite off more than they can chew.

Taine on "The State"

The State makes use of the money which it extorts from me to unjustly impose fresh constraints upon me; this is the case when it prescribes for me its theology or its philosophy, when it prescribes for me or denies me a special form of religious observance, when it pretends to regulate my morals and my manners, to limit my labor or my expenditure, to fix the price of my merchandise or the rate of my wages. With the coin which I do not owe it and which it steals from me it defrays the expense of the persecution which it inflicts upon me. Let us beware of the encroachments of the State, and suffer it to be nothing more than a watch-dog.

The Rebel

For all of these my heart with longing beats:
For wealth and beauty,
peace profound and rest;
But while men kill and women walk the streets,
I choose the life of strife and of protest.

—E. Ralph Chcyney.

Llano—A Soul Laboratory

By Clinkenbeard Clews

THERE are lots of things about living in the Colony besides eight hours a day, equal wage, free medical attendance, pay on sick leave, the social intercourse, and those other benevolent and admirable features so thoroughly advertised.

For instance, there's human nature. Some people, grown cynical, insist that it isn't human. Maybe not. Maybe it is just human and not veneered. Anyway, we see human nature under the most powerful soul microscope in the world. We see it spread out before us in a soul laboratory which gives cultures to show just what the human animal is and what he—or it—will do under any combination of circumstances.

Doc says he can tell when a man steps off the train just what he will be saying and doing in two months. That is quite a strong statement, for the only part of the new comer Doc sees when said new comer steps from the train is new-comer's feet, for we are opposite the station and look under the train. But Doc has been in the colony longer than most of us and he has had a lot of experience. I have seen him make some most uncanny predictions that came out just as he said.

For instance: there was the man Bolley. Bolley came in quite by accident. Was just camping through the country and hadn't even heard of the Colony. Didn't know it was here. Oh, yes, he had heard of it. But it was quite by accident that he happened to drop in close to us.

We took Bolley in. He seemed to be honest and a good worker. Had a lot of livestock that he turned in as payment for his membership. Fairly good stock. Then the soul of Bolley was put under the microscope in the colony soul laboratory. At first it was hard to find, but we finally discovered it. Bolley's soul proved to be a queer animal. Whether he came in or just happened in, operated for pay, or was taking a little flyer of his own, we never exactly learned. But one day he slipped out with his livestock and the one thousand shares of stock. He represented himself as a hard-working man. His wife represented herself as an agitator. They are probably both right, at least we have no doubt of the fact that she is an agitator.

Then there was Hungtown. He was another agitator. Hungtown came in without putting a dollar into the colony. Came in on his ability before we had the soul laboratory keyed up to catch the difference between ability to do and ability to talk. We were deceived. Hungtown came in as one of the finest tutors who ever tooted. There was nothing in the realm of mathematics that he couldn't solve. His life was a dream, his wife a queen, his services invaluable, himself indispensable. We trembled when we thought of the hazards we had run before we got him. He was a real wonder-worker, a genuine he-teacher. He told us all this in the first half hour after the stage dropped him down in our humble and unsuspecting midst. Hungtown had all of the self-effacing humility of a circus band. He would no more get himself in the spotlight than would a movie queen seek to keep squarely in front of the camera lens. He was as modest and retiring as a polecat and eventually became as much endeared to us.

But Hungtown couldn't seem to get the hang of things, quite. He failed to tutor as he tooted. He tooted more than he tutored and his dissertations on the sublimity of his married life soon robbed the class of its interest in this subject. When he had purged the school of all its pupils by his dreary

monologues on domestic virtues as radiated by himself and his fair spouse, he was put to keeping books.

Now if there is one thing that narrows the soul, or that attracts the narrow soul, it seems to be book keeping. We never learned whether it was cause or effect, whether the narrow soul took naturally to double entry, or whether double entry made sandwich souls.

In the same office at the same time there was a book keeper of aristocratic bearing and overbearing disposition whose name was Orton. Orton was English and he pruned the aitches out of the alphabet perseveringly, restoring them in unexpected places with the instinct of a trade rat. In an emotional tirade he once referred to the eloquence of another member of the colony, as being "hall 'ot hair," which translated into ordinary un-English means, "all hot air."

Into this office with Orton went Hungtown. There was another in the office there with them, an amiable young Swede named Wonthide. This young man was a most likable chap, stood in the esteem of all, and merited this esteem. That is, he did before he became associated with Orton and Hungtown. But afterwards—well, the aitchless Hinglishman and the regular he-teacher were too much for him. Their contaminating influence became such that the soul microscope began to register sun spots on the immaculate spirit of Wonthide. These celestial freckles grew, till Wonthide became one of the most bitter and implacable enemies that the colony ever had. Yet the colony had done him no harm, and even extended him an invitation to come back after he had left.

Once long ago there was an organization formed within the colony of dissenters who took to themselves the name, Welfare League. They met out in the sagebrush and each wore as the insignia of the order, a piece of sagebrush. It became known as the Brush Gang, and the word brush became a part of colony language and remains so today. To "brush" is to become dissatisfied and to make trouble. A "brusher" is one of the dissatisfied.

Well, Orton, Hungtown, and Wonthide brushed. Now this man Orton didn't pay his way in full, and he never put a dollar directly in the colony either. Wonthide did. He was clean and straight until the evil influences of the others corrupted him. The three of them worked on the books for months. They were presumed to know of every entry that was made.

Of course, the easiest attack to make on the integrity of any concern is to attack its war chest. A run can be made on any bank in the country if only a little industrious whispering be indulged in. Hungtown was a whisperer. He buzzed night and day. He made vainglorious boasts of his prowess as a book keeper, of what he would do, if the irregularities of the accounts, etc.

An investigation was ordered by the colonists, instigated largely by Hungtown. Now here is where the soul microscope shows up things that wouldn't otherwise be noticed in a thousand years. Hungtown was a power-seeker. He showed it when he said he wouldn't be president of the company for any salary on earth. But Orton was also a power-seeker. You couldn't get him to be superintendent of the ranch! Of course not! But if he were, now mind ye, 'e wouldn't be for hanything in the world, but if 'e was, 'e would 'ave done thinks in a much better mawner, and 'is friend Mr. 'Ungtown would bear 'im hout in 'is statement. They both wanted

power, but their interests lay in the same direction, temporarily.

When the investigating committee brought in its report, it performed some very clever strategy. Educated by experience, it made the report free from any animus, because to betray animus would prejudice the hearers against those making the report. The report of the committee was clean enough. It noted "some discrepancies in accounts, some apparent slight irregularities which could probably be explained," etc. But the committee was ambitious and bitter, and being ambitious its collective and individual consciences were somewhat dulled. It became unscrupulous in its methods. One of its members, a gaunt, swarthy, sarcastic man, not long in the colony, named Harquelin, got before the assembled colonists, drew a paper from his pocket, and asked the privilege of making some remarks. Herein lay the cunning of the committee. Knowing the flare-back that would come of a report containing biased statements or attacks on the administration, these ambitious power-seekers took this method of making their drum-fire effective.

Now this man Harquelin was not fluent and he knew it. But he thought to catch the popular ear. The fineness of psychology escapes even the most acute of us now and then. The grotesque Harquelin, speaking with a slightly foreign accent, uncouth, unprepossessing, lacking in eloquence, and already suspected of not being altogether ingenuous, opened his speech with "Fellow sufferers!"

There's something about the human mind that makes it almost impossible for it to separate the deadly serious from the ridiculous. An Englishman is likely to take a joke with complete seriousness, while an American is quite as likely to get himself badly damaged physically by guffawing at the most serious place of an argument. Llano audiences were always courteous, and they are always ready to listen to a speech. They can take more punishment along that line than any people in the world. So they listened to the harrowing tale of Harquelin.

But it was next day that they began to express their real feelings in the matter. Meeting in the road in front of the hotel, two colonists greeted each other simultaneously as "Fellow sufferers." All over the ranch men and women and children were shouting "Fellow sufferer" as a matter of greeting. It was the beginning of the end of the committee. When ridicule begins to creep in, it is time for the committee to begin folding its tents and silently slipping away.

But the best of us are blind to psychology sometimes, and forget the lessons we have learned. Orton and Hungtown whipped Wonthide into line and renewed their attack. Listening posts were established, and we were subjected to all sorts of verbal barrage fire.

There were various complications which kept the committee from ever finishing its work on time. For one thing, most of the executives were kept so busy on business trips that they could not all be gotten together to receive the attack. There was one splendid example of this, and it came when the attacking force was rapidly disintegrating.

A special meeting of the colonists was called to hear the report all over again. The executives and others had been given notice. The fact that one of them was two thousand miles away at that time made little impression on the committee. Bloating with a sense of their own importance, the worthy individuals composing the committee expected all to whom they issued notices to at once appear before them and make such explanations as they might be able to give.

However, the executives had other business and could not run across the continent to please the whim of a little, ambitious mind. The meeting dragged. The colonists came out

of curiosity, sat about and talked, and waited. Finally one of the committee suggested that the meeting be called to order. The crowd felt no responsibility in the matter whatsoever. The committee had called the meeting. Therefore, let the committee conduct it. So the colonists sat about and chatted some more. Finally, one of the committeemen took the chair, called the meeting to order and asked that the chairman and secretary of the regular General Assembly take charge of the meeting. But the secretary and chairman were quite loath to do so and found adequate excuses why they should not. Then another colonist was suggested. He refused. Man after man and woman after woman was nominated and all refused to serve. Some subtle psychology hinted to the audience that the meeting was to be a farce. There was also the growing feeling that the committee was more interested in its own personal filibustering exploits than it was in the general good of the colony. Later, after nearly an hour, the colony undertaker consented to take the chair. More time was consumed in selecting a secretary, and at last the doctor was the only one who would accept this office. Then some wag went to the kitchen and got a large soup bone and gravely presented it to the chairman as the official gavel!

With an undertaker and a doctor to direct the meeting, it could not be taken seriously. A few dispirited motions were put and languidly voted upon without discussion. Then Orton tried to make an appeal to stir interest. In a loud voice he demanded that the absent executives appear, as this was the appointed time. There was a death-like and soul-chilling silence. Hungtown tried to arouse some interest, but was not taken seriously. Finally Orton said that as the executives were afraid to appear, and there seemed little that could be done, that the report of the committee should be accepted. Silence followed that, till some tired colonist, who remembered that he had to work next day, moved an adjournment. The motion was put and voted down, but the entire audience got up and walked out. Technically, a large and disinterested audience is still considering that report there in the hall.

At a later date the report was taken up in order and disposed of to the entire satisfaction of all but four men—Orton, Hungtown, Harquelin, and Wonthide.

There was an aftermath to it all, however. A disgruntled trio went to Los Angeles, formed an association to bankrupt and disrupt or control the colony, and at last reports were still operating, with some fell design spurring them on. Revenge seems to be the motive. Their influence has never been felt in the colony, and they are probably having a splendid time making reports, rearranging the colony to their own designs, and generally re-making and re-working the entire co-operative field. Wonthide wouldn't stay with the group, but the three leaders in the plot for power have stayed together.

Two human frailties that drive people out of the colony are the lust for power and the greed for gold. We've had scores of men come to the colony for the express purpose of taking almost immediate charge and operating it according to their impulsive ideas. Then there have been a large number of those who came for gain. Their idea of co-operation was to secure substantial advantages for themselves. They were unwilling to wait for results. Such persons eliminate themselves in the course of time; the colony never has to take action against them.

Plots for power have been more numerous than would be believed by those who forget that a socialist is merely a human animal who has gotten hold of a vision or a piece of a vision. This vision is, too often, merely a hankering to rule, a greed to seize through collective effort, what he could not take for himself by individual exploitation, and his selfishness is always

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Theosophy: Its Essence and Achievements

By Scott Clough, United Lodge of Theosophists.

THEOSOPHY presents to every man a theory of life whose basis rests upon three fundamental propositions, which are absolute in their nature and universal in their scope. These propositions, therefore, do not rest upon any one's authority, but upon their inherent truth. Only that truth is absolute which can be directly perceived, which is axiomatic, which does not depend upon evidence or testimony.

These propositions may be broadly formulated as follows:

I. All things that are, that have been, or that will be, spring from one Source, omnipresent, eternal, boundless, and immutable.

Discussion, definition and dogmatism in regard to this Source are idle and useless, for it is unthinkable and unspeakable, beyond the range and reach of thought or imagination. It antedates and underlies all conditioned and manifested existence. It interpenetrates, includes and sustains all things. All things come from It, exist in It, return into It, as all bodies, large or small, visible or invisible, move and have their being in Space. Like Space, It cannot be conceived of by itself, as absent from anything or anywhere, or as affected by any changes that occur in It. It is this Absolute Deity or Self of all that men have vainly striven to formulate and define as God. All such definitions are but images and idols of the mind, product of the ignorant fears, hopes and conceit of man.

II. In this Absolute Deity or Self or Space, Universes, solar systems, suns, planets, and the beings of which they are but aggregations, continually appear, disappear and reappear in boundless procession. This periodical manifestation has neither beginning nor ending as the Law of all existences. It has been likened to a Great Breath, or to Absolute Motion, eternally coming and going. As the Great Breath goes forth worlds and beings appear. As it is indrawn, beings and worlds disappear into the Great Source, to reappear at the next Great Breath. Our life is but one of an infinite series of lives; our world but one of an infinite series of worlds; our universe but one in an endless chain of universes, without conceivable beginning or imaginable end.

This second proposition is but the assertion of the absolute universality of that law of periodicity, of flux and reflux, ebb and flow, which physical science has observed and recorded in all departments of nature. An alternation such as that of Day and Night, Life and Death, Sleeping and Waking, is a fact so common, so perfectly universal and without exception, that it is easy to comprehend that in it we see one of the absolutely fundamental laws of the Universe.

III. The fundamental identity of all Souls with the Universal Soul, the latter being itself an aspect of the Unknown Root; and the obligatory pilgrimage for every Soul—a spark of the former—through the Cycle of Incarnation (or "Necessity") in accordance with Cyclic and Karmic law, during the whole term. In other words, no purely spiritual Soul can have an independent (conscious) existence before it has (a) passed through every elemental form of the phenomenal universe, and (b) acquired individuality, first by natural impulse, and then by self-induced and self-devised efforts, thus ascending through all the degrees of intelligence, from the lowest to the highest, from mineral and plant up to the highest and holiest being.

This third and final fundamental proposition of Theosophy flows from the other two, as the second flows from the first,

the three propositions standing to each other in the relation of the absolute, the universal, and the individual or particular. The individual is part and parcel of the universal; the universal is part and parcel of the absolute Eternal. Immortality, therefore, is not an acquisition; it is inherent in every individual, because his essential nature is one with the Absolute. What is to be acquired by each Soul for itself is knowledge—knowledge of its own eternal nature and of the eternal nature of all other beings. That knowledge can only be acquired through action, experience and observation. Each Soul is eternally acting, eternally sowing and reaping, now in one form and now in another, now in one field and now in another. The universe exists for the sake of the Soul's experience and for no other purpose. Souls differ in the degree of their acquired experience and intelligence, and according to the use they make of their experience, their observation, their intelligence and powers, do they progress, helped or hindered by the results following upon their inter-relations and inter-actions; for being identical in their source and in the law of their being, they are inter-dependent in every sense. It is these three relations of absolute, universal, and individual, that are implied in the three words, Spirit, Soul, and Mind. As Spirit all are identical and unchangeable; as Soul all are universal and eternal, as in mind, or intelligence or being, all are constantly changing in form action and possibilities.

These three propositions cover everything that has ever been conceived of under the general terms of God, Law, and Being; but because, as stated, they are absolute in their nature and universal in their scope, they are free from limitation, all-inclusive, and explanatory of all nature and every phase of nature. Once a man has gained a clear comprehension of them and realizes the light which they throw on every problem of life, they will need no further justification in his eyes, because their truth will be to him as evident as the sun in heaven. On their clear apprehension depends, for the individual and for the mass, the understanding of all the mysteries and inequalities of life. On their correct application to the individual's own thoughts and actions in the varying conditions of life, here and hereafter, depends his emancipation from the thralldom of ignorance, of prejudice, of preconception, of partial and erroneous knowledge. There are no privileges or special gifts in man, or any other being, high or low. All are in evolution from the threefold basis of the Spiritual, the Intellectual, and the Physical, and whatever the nature of any being may be, it is the result of his own efforts throughout a long series of metempsychoses and re-incarnations. The Spiritual nature of every being is the enduring. Out of its ceaseless action is built up the Universal or Intellectual, which endures only as it accords with the Spiritual. Out of the Spiritual and Intellectual nature of each and all, is built up the physical, whether that latter is the familiar body and matter cognized through our senses, or other and finer grades of Substance. Whether we speak of the varying grades and gradations of manifested being as Spirit, Soul, Mind, Energy, or Matter, or any combination of these, one and all they represent successive stages in the great School of Life Eternal. All have evolved to where they now are, all will continue evolving. The goal is the perfection of being. Thus, this life is but one of many, human intelligence but one of many grades, this familiar

world of waking existence but one of the many schools of experience, to which we return again and again, life after life, until we have learned all its lessons. There are beings as much higher than man as man is higher than a black-beetle! They have long since passed through and learned the lessons of human life. The various kingdoms of beings below man are on their way upward, evolving slowly toward man's estate.

There is, therefore, in sober truth, a Brotherhood of all Beings, not merely the Brotherhood of Man, and its basis is not merely physical, not merely intellectual, but Spiritual, and rests upon the identity of their essential nature, and the identity of the law of their evolution, or acquired nature.

It is not hard, when these statements are pondered, to perceive that they are, in fact, contained in every system of thought, philosophy or religion worthy of the name, and are the common basis of them all, however they have all in time become corrupted and overlaid and obscured by purely human speculation and fancy. Every so-called Savior who ever entered the field of human life, was one of a body of perfected beings who, moved by the spiritual knowledge of universal brotherhood, exercised his divine compassion by once more re-entering the ranks of men, "becoming in all things like one of us, to walk with us, and, like a teacher in school, teach and guide us by precept and example towards a higher life. Men have in all times for the most part ignored, derided and persecuted these Elder Brothers when they came, and later worshipped them as gods and made of their teachings a dead letter religion of forms, ceremonies, dogmas, creeds, with rewards for those who "believed" and punishment here and hereafter for those who disbelieved. Theosophy, then, in its wider sense, is a body of knowledge; as a name to identify the teachings of H. P. Blavatsky and William Q. Judge, it is that portion of the ancient eternal Wisdom-Religion—the accumulated experience of the ages—imparted to mankind in our time. It is, therefore, not a belief or dogma formulated or invented by man, but is a knowledge of the laws which govern the evolution of the physical, astral, psychical and intellectual constituents of nature and of man.

Step by step, as a man studies it and endeavors to apply it to his own conduct and the solution of his own problems, Theosophy becomes self explanatory, self-revealing, self-inspiring, self-evident. Man ceases to regard himself as mortal, perishable, football of fate, or subject to the caprice of any god whatever; no longer a "poor, miserable sinner," incapable of doing anything for himself. He sees and knows the dignity of Life, in himself and in all others; realizes its purpose, its justice, its limitless field of progression; he enters the company of the conscious immortals. With Thomas Paine he can exclaim, "The world is my country; to do good my religion."

The sincere and thoughtful Socialist, like the sincere and thoughtful man of any philosophy, or religion, or system of thought, must often be appalled at the apparent inequities, the seeming fruitlessness of life and effort, even the best and the best-intentioned. When he turns alike sincerely and thoughtfully to take stock of his own mental possessions, no matter how labeled, he must often be bewildered and disheartened at their shortcomings, at their inability to explain what confronts him. Then he either closes his mind against consideration of the unknown and the unresolved and goes on with what he has; or relapses into the dull indifference of negation; adopts some new scheme of life which seems to offer him the rewards he covets; or—looks boldly and further afield into the hidden world of causation. All systems of thought are neither more nor less than attempts to explain the causes, the rationale and process whereby things have become as they are. For men, being spiritual and in-

tellectual, perceive intuitively that all that confront them are effects, and that if they can but grasp causes truly, they can direct and control effects. All systems of thought embody some perception of causation, otherwise they would find no acceptance among men; but the sincere and reflective mind, having observed effects, when he turns to his hitherto accepted system of thought will find its explanations absurdly limited, erroneous and contradictory. He will find that when applied, it will not work out in all times, in all places, in all circumstances, in all conditions. What good is it, then, as a court of final resort, as a reliance here or hereafter?

From Theosophy, in its larger significance of the accumulated experience of the ages, has come all the progress of the race. It is definite, complete, accessible. Each human being embodies it in some degree, but there is no limit to its further assimilation and embodiment by any one. Each human being applies it to some extent, but there is no limit of the extent to which it is capable of application by any individual. But each must, because by his very nature, each only can, apply it for himself. No one else can do his thinking for him.

It is recognized that limitations, both of the writer and of the space assigned to him, necessarily make this outline faulty and incomplete. Those interested in gaining a better and clearer understanding of Theosophy would do well to write The United Lodge of Theosophists, Metropolitan Building, Los Angeles, Cal., for a small booklet, entitled "Conversations on Theosophy." It will be sent free to all who ask for it.

Making The World Safe For Hemp

THE "Tulsa World" for November 9, publishes the following ennobling and Christian utterance:

"In the meantime, if the I. W. W. or its twin brother, the Oil Workers Union, gets busy in your neighborhood, kindly take occasion to decrease the supply of hemp. A knowledge of how to tie a knot that will stick might come in handy in a few days. It is no time to dally with the enemies of the country. The unrestricted production of petroleum is as necessary to the winning of the war as the unrestricted production of gunpowder. We are either going to whip Germany or Germany is going to whip us. The first step in the whipping of Germany is to strangle the I.W.Ws. KILL THEM, JUST AS YOU WOULD ANY OTHER KIND OF A SNAKE. DON'T SCOTCH 'EM; KILL 'EM, AND KILL 'EM DEAD. It is no time to waste money on trials and continuances and things like that. All that is necessary is the evidence and a firing squad. Probably the carpenter's union will contribute the timber for the coffins."

As a result of several such effusions, hundreds of innocent, but class-conscious men, were whipped, tarred and feathered "in the name of the women and children of Belgium."

There is little use for the handful of humanitarians who still remain in this nation to complain. As Thomas Paine said, "to argue with a man who has lost his reason is like giving medicine to the dead." The world has gone stark mad and remonstrance is worthless.

But Labor's day is coming. A certain king once told a certain people that when they became hungry, they could eat grass. And the gory head of this same king decorated the end of a pike a few years later.

The "Tulsa World" and thousands of other poison-slinging sheets in this nation may write discourses on hemp, but let them reflect that they are also giving the masses an excellent tip as to how to wreak revenge.

—A. S.

Fighting With Co-operation

By C. F. Lowrie, President American Society of Equity

THE American Society of Equity is a result of the spontaneous demand of the wheat farmers of Montana for a larger share of the products of their labor as represented in the price of wheat. The low prices for the three years preceding the war, when most of it was raised at a loss to the farmers, was the impelling cause of the organization. A directing force for the sentiment created by these conditions was the more or less closely thought-out plans of a number of natural revolutionists, who had been wage-slaves in the cities, factories and mines, and had obeyed the call of "back to the land." The central idea of these people was the elimination of the exploitation between the producer on the farm and the workingman consumer in the city, factory and mine.

The American Society of Equity distinguished itself from other farm organizations by allying itself with the Trade Union movement, the latter being affiliated with the State Federation of Labor.

The first business done in a co-operative way was the buying of twine for the 1914 crop, which resulted in a saving of over \$100,000 for the farmers of the state of Montana. This was followed by a great deal of co-operative buying and selling on the club-order plan. However, as a result of experience gained in this work and a study of the development of co-operation in Europe, it was soon determined by those in charge of the Society that co-operation, in order to become permanent must be organized along the lines that had proven so successful in Europe. So that now, there has been a gradual evolution in the methods of the organization, until as a result, we now have a state wholesale association, called the Equity Co-operative Association of Montana, with a capital stock of \$500,000, over \$125,000 of which is subscribed, doing business as a wholesale agent for twenty co-operative stores now operating and seventy-five co-operative grain elevators. The local Co-operative stores and elevators own the shares of stock in the Central association. Each local store and elevator does business in a wholesale way with the Central association. Co-operative retail stores have also been organized in three of the principal cities of the state, namely, Great Falls, Butte, and Helena; and others are in the process of organization in the other industrial centers of the state.

As an illustration of what this organization will mean in the future when completely organized, I will say that the major share of the apple crop which is raised in the Western part of the state, was marketed through this co-operative organization last year. Arrangements for assembling the car loads were made by the co-operative stores at the local points; the State Wholesale association arranged the sales in car lots to the co-operative stores and elevators in other parts of the state which did not raise fruit and not a middleman touched these apples so handled from the time they left the hands of the grower until they reached the consumers.

During all this development a running fight has been fought with the big commercial interests. Just one instance of these battles:

The Royal Milling Company of Great Falls, which is a

subsidiary of the big Washburn-Crosby Flour trust of Minneapolis, refused to unionize their plant. The Central Labor bodies, including the Equity farmers declared the flour unfair. The retail stores of Great Falls, through pressure brought by the wholesalers, refused to handle any flour but the unfair flour. The Clerks' union replied by refusing to handle the scab flour. The retailers replied by closing every store in town, except the Equity Consumers' League Co-operative store. The Co-operative store was in financial difficulties at the time and an implied threat was made, that unless a certain \$3500 obligation was paid the Co-operative store would be closed. The Trade Unions and farmers rallied to the support and raised the \$3500 in two hours time. As a result the stores were all opened the following day, as the co-operative store was getting all the trade. As a result the Union Labor of the city was placed squarely behind the Co-operative store and success for the future seems assured. Another result is to stimulate the plan for a million-dollar co-operative flour mill to be located at Great Falls; nearly

\$50,000 worth of stock is already subscribed by co-operative stores and elevators and within a years time the co-operative mill will undoubtedly be one of the biggest mills in the state of Montana.

At the present writing the Mine Workers' Union in Butte, which is on strike against the Copper company is backing the Equity Consumers' league co-operative store at that point. Those in the forefront of the battle for the establishment of permanent co-operation believe that co-operation will prove a great factor in the coming social revolution in America, as it already has done in Russia and Great Britain. As a result of the expansion of the co-operative movement in Montana, F. A. Bennett, the man who has been chiefly responsible

and who by his sacrifices has made possible the success of this organization, has been called to St. Paul to form a national co-operative wholesale, which will develop the same kind of an organization in other regions. Already the farmers and trade unionists of North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois are seriously considering affiliating with the new national co-operative wholesale. The Co-operative Wholesale Society of America, as it is named, has offices on the ninth floor of the Pioneer Building, St. Paul, Minnesota.

The general plan of doing business is to imitate big business in every way, except in the ownership of the business, which is distributed among the whole people (that is the working men and the farmers) and in the distribution of the profits. After paying a nominal dividend amounting to current interest rates on the capital stock, the remainder of the profits are pro-rated back to the buyers and sellers in proportion to the amount of business done. The time is now ripe for permanent co-operation in America and we believe the time is also ripe for the co-ordination of co-operation with the ultimate forces which are making for the co-operative commonwealth, that world events may bring to pass sooner than some of us had dreamed for a few years ago.

THOSE in the forefront of the battle for the establishment of permanent co-operation, believe that co-operation will prove a great factor in the coming Social Revolution in Russia and Great Britain. Already the farmers and trades unionists of North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and Illinois are seriously considering affiliating with the new National Co-operative Wholesale.

Christianity and Pacifism

By R. B. Whitaker

[One of the foremost ministers on the Pacific Coast, a man of reputation for his "advanced" religious views, published in one of the most open-minded of the denominational journals a criticism of "Christian" pacifists. It was addressed in particular to one of these Christian pacifists, Rev. Robert Burdette Whitaker, of Paradise, Butte County, California, a nephew of Robert Whitaker of Los Gatos, and likewise an all-round radical. Whitaker replied to this criticism in the following good tempered and well argued article. The editor of the denominational journal in which the criticism had appeared publicly stated that he thought in fairness he ought to publish the reply, that it was a thoroughly fit and an eminently able answer, but admitted that HE DID NOT DARE TO DO IT. And this editor, as his work shows, is not a coward. He has already risked his editorial head again and again by his refusal to join the war madness. His journal represents a church which boasts its independence, and claims the men and women who landed on Plymouth Rock as its own special possession because they were of its membership. Yet its constituency, made up largely of ministers, consented apparently without protest to this suppression of the article. In the interests of fair play, as an exhibit of how little the workers of the world can depend upon their "spiritual guides" for even decency in the discussion of economics, and as in itself a fine presentation of the CHRISTIAN CASE AGAINST WAR we take pleasure in giving to our readers the rejected paper by Mr. Whitaker.]

THE majority of the Christian leaders of the world are telling us that in the present crisis, the real question before us is not the academic one as to whether war is right or wrong, but the practical problem of what the Christian program for the present involves. Under existing conditions, they would have us believe that participation in the prosecution of the war is a **necessary part** of the Christian program.

To an ever growing minority, this seems a mistaken judgment, especially as many of those who advocate this view go so far with us in their conception of the nature of Christian faith. Referring to a statement in "A Pacifist Confession of Faith", one friend recently said in a personal letter to the writer: "With all my soul I believe that 'the religion of Jesus was and is a way of life for the present, and not merely an ideal for the future.'" Now it seems to the thorough-going pacifist that that one admission ought to make impossible the life of a soldier for any Christian disciple, for if there is any one thing which perhaps is more fundamental than all else in connection with "the Christian Way" it is the Way of Loyalty to Jesus as the supreme loyalty. In Him we see the very heart of God revealed to men, so that loyalty to Him is loyalty to the Father whom he reveals. Or perhaps it would have been a better stating of the case to have said that the supreme loyalty is loyalty to God as He is revealed in Jesus. The Christian's difficulty here with the whole war problem is, that military efficiency depends upon implicit obedience to military authority as at all times the chief duty of a soldier.

A soldier in action can have no authority but that of his commanding officer. If in the course of the war he is commanded to assist in reprisals (merely a polite term for military retaliation) then he must not stop to think that Christ has forbidden any disciple of his to have anything to do with retaliation. Rather, he must obey without question. To state the matter plainly then, the question, "What Would Jesus Do?" is not one which it is allowable for a soldier to consider. A persistent asking of that question in the light of New Testament teaching would lead to insubordination and sedition on the part of the Christian members of our army; for there is much in modern warfare besides reprisals entirely out of keeping with the spirit of Jesus. It is only because for the period of the war, under cover of "military necessity," we allow the

voice of the military authorities to become for us the voice of God, that we can prosecute the war at all. The reasoning of the average man runs about like this: It is absolutely necessary to overcome Germany. War is the only method by which this can be done. Therefore the war must be right. Like the convert entering the Roman Catholic church, the soldier entering the army must make the great decision and the great surrender once for all. By the very act of becoming a soldier he thereby gives up his right to individual judgment as to the righteousness or unrighteousness of whatever he may be required to do. As the church is the infallible judge of right and wrong for the good Catholic, so is the military authority for the good soldier. To question the judgment in one case is heresy, in the other insubordination. The pacifist is frank to say that he thinks it is more reasonable to accept the Church as the voice of God than the dictum of military authorities.

Again, as related to this conception of Christianity as a way of life, there is the matter of the impossibility of reconciling the military machine, and its treatment of the individual, with the Christian teaching as to human value, and the supreme worth of personality. Military efficiency is attained by treating the individual soldier as merely a cog in the machine. The more completely the private in the ranks learns to keep his place as "only a cog," and not a person, the more efficient will his service be. On the other hand, he is not only treated as a "thing" himself, but it is incumbent upon him, if he would be a good soldier, to treat his brother man who happens, because of the accident of birth to be on the other side, as a "thing" also.

The pacifist has no more regard for mere physical existence than have many others. It is not what war does to a man's body, which makes it for us a weapon never to be used, but rather what it does to his soul, or to use the more modern term, to his personality. As has already been noted, the military method is based upon the transgression of two of the most sacred rights of humanity; first, the right of private judgment, and second, the right of every man to be treated as a person. It seems to us a mistaken idea to try to protect persons, or ideals, by a method which involves the desecration of that which is most sacred in personality, and the utter abandonment in practice of the very ideals we would defend.

In a letter already referred to, the writer speaks of "war in the protection of good being less evil than acquiescence in the destruction of good." Those of us who hold to the interpretation which is being presented in this paper, are far from believing that Christian men are ever justified in "acquiescence in the destruction of good." Our difference is one of method, not of end. We believe that it is incumbent upon every follower of Jesus, and upon every lover of humanity, to work for the overthrow of the evil which is just now so rampant in the world. But we must do it by **Christian methods!** As stated already, the real question at issue is not the abstract one of whether war is right or wrong, but rather "what the Christian program for the present involves." The friend whose letter has been quoted, also writes, "We are completely agreed, too, in our detestation of war, of its brutality, its inhumanity, its intolerable inconsistency."

Now the pacifists of the country are thoroughly convinced that no program can possibly be **Christian** which of necessity involves "brutality, inhumanity and intolerable inconsistency." It seems to us that the Christian program must take as its ruling principle the words of Paul, (which, by the way, are

merely an apt statement of the teaching of Jesus) "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." If the Christian people of this nation would demand that our government spend the same amount of time, and money, and energy, in seeking for a solution of this problem in a Christian way that it has spent in prosecuting the war, then the way would be found. But even when the nation as such has chosen to go the other way, we still believe that it is incumbent upon disciples of Jesus to be true to their Master's method. Practically all religious leaders admit war as a moral evil. "War is hell," and to use it in the defence of good is to call upon "Satan to cast out Satan," a course of procedure which Jesus very frankly held up to ridicule. Therefore, if we are to use such a method, let us make honest acknowledgment that it is necessary to quit being Christian for awhile until we get the world straightened out. **For one thing is absolutely certain, and that is, that war, with its "brutality, inhumanity, and intolerable inconsistency" can never be reconciled with a Christian program.**

Our friends are mistaken, too, in thinking that the pacifists of the country are acquiescent or passive at the present time. We are far from it. We are fighting for the protection of democracy, for the establishment of those principles which alone can make possible a permanent peace, for the freedom of men before God, and for the alleviation of suffering, in what seem to us the only ways open to Christian men; and we believe that in the methods we are using we are accomplishing more for those ends than would be possible if we gave the nation our support in the prosecution of the war.

There is another fundamental issue which ought to be brought up at this point. We suppose that there are few Christian leaders in this country who hate war more than Dr. Chas. E. Jefferson of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, and yet now that America has entered upon this struggle, he writes, "We cannot wash our hands and say, 'We will have no part in this business.' For we are citizens. We belong to the Republic. We are cells of a great organism. We are part of a huge bundle of life. When a nation is at war, every citizen is involved. Every citizen has duties which make sacrifices which are not called for in ordinary times. It will not do to say, 'I had nothing to do with bringing on the war,' or 'I am opposed to all wars.' The war is here, and no matter what we think or wish or feel, it is the duty of all citizens to do all in their power to bring the war to a victorious finish."

A part of Dr. Jefferson's conclusions we are entirely ready to accept. It is true that we cannot wash our hands and say that we will have no part in this business. There is no one of us who is not in part responsible for the condition of things which made war possible. We have all been guilty at times of that spirit of suspicion, of intolerant criticism, of self-seeking, which is the real cause of the war. Therefore, we owe it to our God and to our fellowmen to make all possible sacrifices at this time in behalf of a better world wherein the spirit of Jesus shall rule.

But the mistake of Dr. Jefferson and of others who take his position is in failing to recognize that war is not the only method whereby men may seek to overcome the evil forces which just now threaten our civilization. It is possible to work for the victory of righteousness, and for the protection

of our Republic, without participating in what we consider a mistaken method of accomplishing that end. We believe in sacrifice too, but for the Christian the cross, not the sword, points the way to conquest. The way of the sword provokes and intensifies the very evils which it would overcome. When the war is over, we shall have all of the old problems to solve, and shall find ourselves in a worse position to meet them than we were before the struggle began, inasmuch as we shall labor under the curse of ten-fold more suspicion, and intolerance, and selfishness. As a matter of fact, it is probable that only the passing of this present generation and the birth of a new one which has forgotten something of the bitterness and hatred engendered by the war, will make possible any real solution of the problem.

If it were not for the moral blindness which afflicts the nation for the time being, we might see that the very spirit which we have deprecated in Germany is fast coming to rule our own land, brought on by the satanic method which we are using to fight Satan. Dr. Edward A. Steiner, who has certainly won the right to be trusted as a good American, has given ample proof of the correctness of the foregoing statements in his article entitled, "A Wrong Strategy" which appeared in the "Outlook" for January 2, 1918. Surely the

"Outlook" need not be suspected of giving publicity to any misstatement of facts in connection with such an issue as the present one. Dr. Steiner says (speaking of the treatment which loyal German-Americans are receiving at the hands of our state and county officials) "I know what is going on in the hearts of the men who have been cruelly treated and maligned. If I were not so thoroughly an American, and if I did not sense the American spirit at its best, the treatment I have received would make an anarchist of me. I am pleading for a new strategy, for we are **unmaking good Americans, and not making them.** . . . Frankly, I am fearing for the future of our country after the war, not while it lasts. I fear that the breach will grow

the greater as the war proceeds, and as it exacts from us greater sacrifices. I fear that we who were alien born, and were born again into Americans, will be made into aliens again. Where I am writing, we are **being controlled by a Prussian cast of mind; we are fast becoming that which we are fighting, and the alien born are finding themselves in the midst of the very conditions from which they fled.** We need a new strategy, else we shall lose more than we shall gain." (Emphasis in this quotation the present writer's).

Any man who knows anything at all about what is really happening in our country at the present time, knows that Dr. Steiner's words are true, and that he has stated the truth mildly. We do need a new strategy, the strategy of Jesus as over against that of militarism; the strategy of the cross, as opposed to that of the sword! This new strategy each individual Christian who has faith in "the way" can help to put it into operation. **America needs protection at the present moment from the despotism on her own shores. She needs men who with Christian devotion will show our foreign born population that there is still something of the old Americanism left.**

We agree with Dr. Jefferson, too, in his statement that "We are citizens. We belong to the Republic. We are cells of a great organism." We are, indeed, citizens of the Republic of

CHRIStIAN pacifists are fighting for the protection of democracy, for the establishment of those principles, which alone, can make possible a permanent peace, but they believe that in their methods they are accomplishing more for those ends than would be possible if they gave the nation their unqualified support in the prosecution of the war.

God. We are cells in that spiritual organism which Jesus called "The Kingdom." Of course, we understand that Dr. Jefferson is not talking about the Kingdom of God, or the Republic of God, whichever title we give to it, but rather of the American Republic. Now while it is true that we are members also of this American Republic, it seem to us that Dr. Jefferson will have to admit that our first loyalty is to the heavenly Kingdom, not to the earthly. For us the law of Christ is above every law, and the loyalty to his kingdom above every loyalty. Furthermore, the heavenly Kingdom is one which knows nothing of the barrier represented by nationalism. There is a stronger tie than that of a common birthplace; it is the tie of a common spiritual experience by which men are made citizens of the Kingdom of Brotherly Love. Neither language, nor color, nor education, nor birthplace, serve to separate men who belong to this spiritual Kingdom.

As for the biological analogy, that we "are cells of a great organism," it is only true in a limited sense when applied to the relation of the individual to the state. Apparently the real difference of opinion here is as to whether as Christian men our first responsibility is to obey the will of God as we understand it individually, or, to fall in with the judgment of the social group when the two conflict as at the present time. To the writer it seems as though Jesus approaches the whole problem of life as primarily that of the relation of the individual soul to God. His chief concern was to get men to live the filial life as children of their Heavenly Father. His teaching has large social implications and consequences, but it is individual in its approach. Hence the fundamental loyalty of a Christian man even in time of war is not to the social group of which he is a member, but to God.

Dr. Raymond C. Brooks of The First Congregational Church of Berkeley, California, has expressed practically the same attitude as Dr. Jefferson's in the words, "whether we think the initial step was wise or unwise (that is entering into the war) we are now in it, and we must therefore meet as wisely and as manly as possible the responsibility for what has been done." To that the pacifist will say, "We believe in co-operating with our government when it is standing for the right, but when that government deliberately decides through those who are in control to enter upon a course of action which is wrong, then we can best be true to our country, and can best meet our responsibility as Christian citizens by persistently doing the right, refusing at the same time to have part or lot in the wrong course which the government is taking." Our first duty is to God, not to the government. The fundamental responsibility is not the social, but the individual. **We believe in no government which attempts to coerce the consciences of its citizens. Government of that sort is of the essence of what some have called "Kaiserism."**

In conclusion, then, it seems to the pacifists of the country that it ought to be evident to anyone who trusts to spiritual values, and to spiritual forces, as supreme that we shall never conquer the ideals for which some of our enemies seem to stand by stooping to their own vicious methods. Furthermore, we believe that the Christian method which has been suggested is one whereby we shall "more surely protect and defend the ideals which are our common possession," even though ed-

herence to it may mean that for the present our service must be accomplished through the smaller group, the minority, rather than through co-operation with the majority in carrying out the program of the government. We shall endeavor to avoid any spirit of intolerance toward those who believe that a Christian program for the present necessitates participation in the prosecution of the war; but as for ourselves, we cannot believe that God requires us to assist in defending either His truth or His people by a method which involves, from our standpoint, such an entire "moral surrender" of the whole Christian position.

Apocalypse

Today my boss died.

They say it was apoplexy.

That's why I'm here, lying in the grass,

Stunned and trembling at the wonder

Of these new-born things,

These violets and these buttercups

That stare at me so silently.

I had forgotten that there ever was a Spring,

And tender leaves and yielding earth

And birds that sing with joy;

I've lived so long where there are only
grinding wheels

And cold, unliving cobblestones.

This morning, when they stopped the
wheels because he died,

And closed the doors out of respect
for him,

The unexpected freedom only left me
dazed.

I could not believe that it was Wed-
nesday,

And I outside the doors with idle
hands,

While all around, the world rushed on
with working.

I felt so lost and useless and alone.
Of what good was it to be not work-
ing?

And then, unthinkingly, I took a car

And it brought me out here.

Three hours I've lain here in the grass—just resting,
Thinking what I thought of long ago,

Before I grew too tired,

Feeling what is too beautiful to feel in weariness:

For three whole hours I have been alive!

It is queer—but grimly true . . .

Because a fat man fed his body over-much

And choked his mean and scrubby soul,

I have a day of freedom . . .

And if I said what I feel lying here,

Remembering what it means to be alive,

With the warm earth stirring under me,

I'd say I'm glad—I'm glad he died . . .

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

—o—

"There has not been a better thing done in this country, in my opinion, than the establishment of co-operation of which Lancashire deserves the principal credit."—WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

Is Compulsory Military Training Desirable?

—A Symposium

MY primary objection to Compulsory Military Training in the United States is that the scheme itself, whatever the motives for which it is urged, is at once reactionary and suicidal. It would mean the introduction into a democracy of a system fundamentally at variance with its principles and which if rigidly carried out for a few generations would destroy democracy.

There are two forms of discipline, leading to two forms of efficiency. The discipline enforced from above, whereby the individual man becomes "a brick in the wall of an edifice—the nature of which is unknown to him," leads to mass-efficiency, and individual incompetence. The discipline from within, by which in freedom a man creates his own status, and shares a personal responsibility in all public acts, leads to individual effectiveness, and through freedom of development to national intelligence and wisdom.

The purpose of three years of military servitude in Germany is not to make good soldiers, but to make bad citizens. The purpose and result is blind obedience and docility, abject trust in officialism and abject subservience to the demands of wealth and power.

The purpose of the system is industrial quite as much as military, and in both capacities alike it puts the people at large at the mercy of the ruling oligarchy.

The military system may make for order. The unabashed rule of the rich, characteristic of Germany, makes a community comfortable for the favored classes, but it has no other merit, and being essentially lawless, sooner or later it goes down in blood. In the various states of Germany there exists no positive law,—that is, law made by the people and for the people. All popular rights are granted from royalty and all legislation is subject to absolute veto. It is so with all autocracies, and when the brass-bound system breaks, there remains no law at all. A democracy may be ignorant, tyrannical, misguided, but it is never as a whole lawless, for its law is of its own creating.

In favor of Compulsory Military training it is urged that many of our youth lack in physical development. This statement is often exaggerated, but in so far as it is true, military drill offers no remedy.

The only physical training of value in in a well-ordered gymnasium, or in well-planned camping parties and excursions into the open. To be worth while, all such training must be under competent teachers and under educational, not military control. To use old troopers as teachers of growing boys, as has been done in Austrailia, shows the worst possible way of training boys.

It is, besides, in accord with our principles of Home Rule that our schools should be under local control. A system managed by a Central Bureau at Washington would be intolerable. Then again, boys who are not in school need physical training even more than those who are, and girls need it quite as much as boys.

It is true that the hope of this war—and the main justification for our entrance into it—is that it is "a war to end war."

Our relation in this regard has been clearly and powerfully stated by the President. To save civilization we must do away with armies. Our position at the peace negotiations would be farcial if while declaring for lasting peace we made provision to have AFTER THE WAR, the most powerful army in the world.

The simple fact is that our own plutocratic elements have discovered the value of compulsion as a means of subduing the laboring masses. Germany has pointed the way, and the desire to subdue Germany is tempered by the desire to adopt Germany's methods of dealing with the "ungraded masses."

In this they will never succeed as a permanence,—not so long as America remains America. And the surest way for these elements to bring down "Bolshevism" on their own heads is to persist in attempts to undermine our own "bourgeoise" democracy.

This country has been built up by free men who have something to lose through disorder or despotism, and who under just conditions are able to take care of themselves and have something left over for the public welfare.

—DAVID STARR JORDAN.

* * *

THE department has not sought and does not now seek legislation on the subject of universal military training for the reason that the formulation of a permanent military policy will inevitably be affected by the arrangements consequent upon the termination of the present war. Civilized men must hope that the future has in store a relief from the burden of armament and the destruction and waste of war. However, when a permanent military policy comes to be adopted, it will doubtless be conceived in a spirit which will be adequate to preserve against any possible attack on those vital principles of liberty upon which democratic institutions are based, and yet to be so restrained as in no event to foster the growth of mere militarist ambitions or to excite the apprehension of nations with whom it is our first desire to live in harmonious and just accord.

—NEWTON BAKER, Secretary of War.

* * *

I AM opposed to Compulsory Military Training, and here are a few of the reasons for my opposition:

1. As training for the body, military training is incomplete and inadequate; and, moreover, is intended for even less than half the population,—only for the stronger boys, not for the weaker boys who need physical training the most, and not at all for girls.

2. As mental training, the proposed military training is a hopeless failure. It develops blind, stupidly-blind and brainless, obedience—automatic, mechanical obedience—just such obedience as we just now observe in the hordes of the cruel Kaiser. The wild-beast Kaiser sits on a hill, miles from danger, watching his human automatics, his helplessly obedient multitudes bleeding from millions of wounds while they butcher scores of thousands of their own class—TO KEEP A WILD BEAST SAFE ON HIS THRONE WITH A CROWN ON HIS HIDEOUS HEAD. Otherwise, too, it is a failure as mental training.

3. With respect to social development, military training is a disaster. Witness Europe at this awful hour.

4. That such training should be thrust upon the children, forced upon them, bound upon them, to get finally into the very blood and fibre of them—is an outrage.

5. The unanimous enthusiasm of the profiteers for compulsory military training forever damns it as a thing to be avoided as a pestilence.

I hope for a universal shout against it—from the working class.

—GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK.

UNLESS this be truly "a war to end war," to establish a league of peace for the world, the sacrifices of the nations will have been in vain. It is with a view to this lofty ideal that both President Wilson and Secretary Baker have expressed disapproval of a policy at present of compulsory military training. The sixteen-year-old boy cannot be a factor in the winning of this war. Why, then, should we cast suspicion upon our protestations by deliberate and extraordinary preparations for war in the future?

The most hated element in what is called "prussianism" is the militaristic mind, that mind to which discipline is the highest virtue and the state the sole arbiter of morality. Yet the direct object of military training is the inculcation of this disciplinary ideal. As a lover of Anglo-Saxon traditions, I wish to oppose with all my energy the subjection of our free boys to the mental "goose-step."

—JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN.

* * *

IF this war is to end war, why universal compulsory military training?

It does not teach a constructive but a destructive art. It does not beget an independent but an obedient soul.

It enlists labor into an army revering authority and breeds a power that will suppress all insurrection.

The proletariat's best weapon is not guns but the general strike, and universal military training kills the idea and will suppress the fact.

Its complete object lesson is seen in Germany and the army of the German people invading Russia, deaf to the appeals of their fellow proletariat, for a real democracy of the people—political, industrial and spiritual.

—CHARLES ERSKINE SCOTT WOOD.

* * *

PROPER physical training is desirable. It can easily be had, through the medium of the public schools. But there is no occasion to make it military.

Compulsory military service has but one object—imperialism.

A big army and navy to keep the working class down at home and to lick everybody that stands in the way of commercial supremacy abroad.

That's the whole story.

I'm against it.

What we want is a world organization formed along democratic lines—a federation of socialized nations.

This we must work for.

Then there will be no occasion for national armies.

—JOHN M. WORK.

* * *

COMPULSORY military training is, under existing conditions, desirable or undesirable according to the social condition at which you aim. If you regard political democracy as worth retaining and as a step in the direction of social democracy, compulsory military training is desirable. If you are quite indifferent to the maintenance of political democracy; if you are fond of repeating the drivel that it makes no difference whether your employer is an American capitalist or a Teuton field-marshal; if you prefer to delude yourself with phrases and dwell (for a time) in a Bolshevik fool's paradise, then compulsory military training is highly undesirable. Of course, you run the risk that sooner or later a well-armed nation will come along and overrun your people, lay upon you an enormous burden of tribute and reduce you to an actual slavery which will make you remember the thing you now call wage-slavery as a state of ethereal bliss. But

what of it? You will have had the transport and the ecstasy of your belief in the efficacy of words to ward off danger.

It's all a matter of taste. Some persons prefer phrases to facts, hobbies to horse sense. They learn nothing and they forget everything (except their phrases). Such persons, in their zeal to guard against militarism, are pretty sure to take the one course which will fasten militarism upon their backs. The Kaiser loves such people. They are useful in his business. He couldn't possibly get along without them.

—W. J. GHENT.

Concerning Losses and Gains

By SCOTT NEARING

So many people have spoken and written recently about the "stupendous sacrifices some folks are making for the sake of that principle," that I finally decided to set down the gains and losses that I, for example, have experienced during the past three years.

First as to gains:

1. I have gained a number of staunch friends.
2. I have had my belief in the essential soundness of human nature in the mass revived and immensely strengthened by the Russian revolution.
3. I have seen a new vision of the possible solidarity of labor actually working for the British labor movement. This makes me more than ever ready for international Socialism NOW.
4. I have seen the peoples of the world try force and hate as a method of handling social affairs, only to discover, through experiences of unparalleled bitterness, that society can not be maintained on that basis. Inevitably people will be compelled to adopt the only possible social principle—brotherhood and peace.
5. I have seen the theory of economic determinism WORK in the schools, churches, villages and cities of the United States. For me it is a theory no longer, but a demonstrated fact.

6. Finally, I have seen the young blood of America put to the test and I know that it is red.

Against these immense gains, what losses must I set down?

I have lost:

1. Respectability.
2. Academic position.
3. Income.

All of these losses are the merest social toys. Weighed in the balance of the ages, they are dust. But the gains?

They are the sign posts that point inexorably to a world state, built upon industrial democracy and aiming toward the brotherhood of man.

Wendell Phillips on Internationalism

I rejoice at every effort workingmen make to organize; I do not care on what basis they do it. Men sometimes say to me, "Are you an Internationalist?" I say, "I do not know what an Internationalist is." "But," they tell me, "it is a system by which the workingmen from London to Gibraltar, from Moscow to Paris, can clasp hands." Then I say, "God speed to that or any similar movement."

Five Minutes

By Mary Allen

JOE'S eyes left the wheel for a moment to peer anxiously at his wife.

"Warm enough, Bill?"

"Sure!" She snuggled further down in the auto seat. A low growl issued from the blanket which covered her knees, a dog's sleepy protest.

"Be still Mike! I've got to move once in awhile."

"You oughtn't to hold that dog, Bill. Put him down—the darn nuisance!"

"Mike," said Bill, "Joe's cross. Get down."

Growling his dissatisfaction, Mike rolled from her lap. She giggled girlishly. "Isn't it funny—"

"Funny—" Joe's hands clenched the wheel.

"You've got a sewing machine and a victrola and a second-hand Ford and a dog and a wife and almost a baby. Gee, Joe! You're getting rich! You didn't have anything last year when I married you!"

Noting his silence, she reached up and squeezed his face against hers. "Now don't you worry, kid. It's going to be all right."

"It's got to be," he said grimly.

"You'll get a job at San Pedro."

"If only that San Diego job had held out a few months longer!" he groaned. "I may get a job but it won't pay much."

"Joe," she asked wistfully, "do you blame me?"

"Blame you? Good God, no!"

"I've noticed something here lately, Joe. You've got a wrinkle right between your eyes. And you're only twenty-three. And I've felt kind of bad because I thought I made it."

"Not much you didn't, you crazy kid."

"I tried to be satisfied with Mike," her voice very low, "but somehow he didn't fill the bill."

"Let them that wants to, nurse a pup. My wife's going to have the real thing if she wants it. I'm a pretty poor stick if I can't keep a wife and kid."

He sent the car ahead with a spurt. "Poor little Bill! Trying to be satisfied with a dog because I said we couldn't afford a baby! Say, that day I caught you looking in that window full of kid do-dads, crying——"

"I wasn't!"

"You was— You might have fooled some, but you couldn't fool me! I saw your eyes. Say I wanted to crawl off into a gopher hole and die, I felt so small."

He slowed down to take a curve. "We must be close to Capistrano. See what time it is, will you, Bill?"

She struck a match and held it against the face of her husband's watch.

"Eight twenty-five," she replied.

"We'll make San Pedro before midnight easy. Gosh! What if I can't find a job!" He grew clammy and limp at the thought.

"Of course you will," Bill declared confidently. "If only——O-Oh! Joe!——"

Joe saw the glare but it was too late. A crash—a woman's scream—a stunning blow—excited voices giving orders—his senses grasped no more.

But he had not yet completely lost consciousness. His whole being seemed to be reaching out, groping in agony for something—something—. It lay just beyond the whirling, swirling white and red and black circles that were en-

gulfing him. What was it? Bill—was she safe—the kid—a job—job—that was what he was after—a job. One more grinding pain—one more wrench—and he would reach it—there behind the darkening circles. He reached again and slipped—down—down into darkness and silence.

Eons of time. Then his senses began to reach out once more. At first they knew nothing but pain. But they were not his senses. Plainly someone had a horrible pain somewhere. He finally located it in some one's head. At last in his, Joe's head.

Where was he? Then it came to him. There had been an auto accident. Where was Bill?

He raised himself and looked around. His shattered car first met his eye. Then Mike, a shred of mangled flesh. Poor little devil. But thank God Bill had something better than a dog.

Bill? He rose and found her. Some men were bending over her and there was blood on her head in her hair. He knelt down and took her head on his knee but she did not open her eyes. Bill was dead. Well, he always knew that life with Bill was too good to last.

He paid no attention to the group of men and they paid no attention to him, until one of them said,

"Here's the doctor."

The doctor was a little man in huge tortoise shell glasses with brown lenses. He spoke in a whisper, a sort of rasping hiss.

"Who may you be and what do you want?" he rasped at Joe.

"My wife," Joe replied humbly, "She's dead."

The doctor glanced at her carelessly. "Pooh! She isn't dead. Her skull's fractured."

Joe's heart gave a great bound. "Not dead?"

"Not yet, but she may be tomorrow."

"Oh!" Joe's tears began to come now.

"She'll need two operations. That bone in the head must be lifted and the child must be taken. How long is she pregnant?"

"Eight months."

"Yes, yes," the doctor rasped, "The child must be removed, and I'm the only doctor in the state who can perform the operation. Young man, it's a lucky thing I happened to be driving along here. Science and skill are at your command but it will cost you a good many hundred dollars."

"Oh God!" Joe gasped.

"I always demand my pay in advance."

Joe got down on his knees in the dirt.

"Doc, I can't pay in advance. I've only got ten dollars, but if you'll save my wife, I'll work my fingers off to pay you."

"Hum! You don't look like a fellow that can be trusted."

"Doc, I swear to God I'll pay you if you'll only give me time."

"Have you a job?"

"No, but I'm sure I can get one at San Pedro. Let me try, Doc. Doc, let me try."

"Well, all right. I'll take her to my hospital and operate. You go right over to the station. There's a train due for San Pedro."

"Doc," Joe beseeched timidly, "I'd like to stay and see how the operation turns out."

"Yes," hissed the doctor, "and lose the job. Go, or I'll

let your wife die right here."

Joe ran all the way to the station. He fell once and bumped his head. He almost missed his train but managed to swing on to the last car. His head ached intensely. But he would not complain of an aching head, for Bill was lying on a white glass table. He shuddered, he groaned in his agony when he thought what they might be doing to Bill. Poor Bill! Poor little Bill! What a shaft of light she had been in his life—her funny little tilted nose, her gay, foolish talk, her girlish giggle! And now she was lying on a white glass table and he must not think what they were doing to her. If his head went back on him he could not look for a job

"My name's Wilma," she had told him when he first met her, "but my friends call me Bill."

"I guess I'm your friend, Bill, ain't I?" he asked, and she had said she guessed so. . . .

Then that other time. He had bitterly said, "A guy like me can't get married."

"Why?" she had asked.

"I never had a chance to learn a trade. I'm just a roustabout. I'll never have anything. I'd be a dirty scoundrel to ask a girl to take me. She wouldn't get many of these." He had touched her transparent waist where a lacey edge of dainty undergarment showed through.

"Pooh! Clothes don't cost much when you make your own and know where to buy cheap. Besides—" she had said the rest so low he had to bend pretty close to hear—"If a girl cared—"

She stopped here, giggled a little, then started to cry. So he had married although his common sense told him he hadn't any business to. And now she was on a glass table.

His mind rose and fell in beats with the engine, over the fact that she was on a glass table. It was almost unbearable and he experienced no relief when he left the train at San Pedro.

He started directly for the shipyards. At last a job was in sight. But it was not going to be easy to get it. His path seemed to be strewn with obstacles. He lost his way and had to climb fences to reach the shipbuilding district. He encircled many huge buildings only to find that he had come back to where he started from. Once he was caught in a small rear yard and a policeman threatened to arrest him, but he had begged so hard that the policeman finally let him go with a warning. Also the policeman thumped him on his sore head with a billy. It made it ache worse than ever.

Finally he reached an employment office. There was a long line of men outside. He took his place at the end, and after waiting what seemed centuries he was given a hearing.

"What's your trade?" he was asked.

"I haven't a trade. I can—"

"Get out! Get out!" the man roared at him. As he seemed to be looking for something to hit him with, Joe got out. He was afraid of another blow on his very sore head. He began his wandering again, and this time he was more fortunate.

He got his job.

He figured out the wages he would get. It was hard to figure because his head hurt, but he finally made out that as the baby was lost, he and Bill could save enough to pay the doctor's bill in about five years.

He worked in a daze. He hardly knew what his job was, except that he had to to a great deal of pounding. Five men stood in a circle. One of them was a Chinaman whom Joe thought he knew. He had been cook on a ranch where Joe had once worked at harvesting. The five men, Joe

among them, had huge hammers with which they hammered all day long. Each man took his turn—one—two—three—four—five—Joe was five, and every time his hammer fell it jarred his head. He hammered for he knew not how long, until one night the paymaster gave him a bill. He folded it in a small wad and put it away in his pocket to save for the doctor. Then the paymaster called him back, saying he had a message for him.

"You're wife is dead."

"No," Joe said.

"Yep," said the paymaster.

Dead.

"Can I get a couple of days off?" he asked the boss.

"I guess so," the boss replied grudgingly.

Joe did not stop to change his clothes. He made a wild dash for a passing car, missed, and fell sprawling upon the tracks.

He rose and limped away, his hand holding his aching head. He began to laugh. It was just like a movie show, it was! The whole blooming thing had been like a picture show, with him the main guy, pulling off one fool stunt after another!

A breeze fanned his face, and something splashed upon it. Was it raining? He turned his forehead upward, hoping the drops might soothe the intolerable ache. But even the sky was against him. The splashes were hot, and brought no solace.

The idea that he was a part in a picture drama persisted. He seemed to step outside himself and as though seated in a theatre, he watched his own wild antics as they reeled past. He saw himself in a jitney rolling at a mad pace along a crowded boulevard; he saw the jitney miss other cars by a thumb's width, curling in and out as though reeling home from a spree; he saw himself sometimes walking, for the most part running, along interminable city blocks; he saw himself staring upward at a great white stone building with a cross on the tower; he saw himself stumbling, always stumbling, up the stone steps, through the open doorway; he saw himself addressing a young girl in white dress and nurse's cap who smiled at him pertly; he saw her shake her head and point down the street; he saw himself hurrying off in the direction she had pointed, where there was another building, long and low, a great many potted palms in the window and a sign across the front—"Undertaking Parlors—Ladies a Specialty." He saw himself being led to the rear of the building, through a long dark hall, and at the end of the hall a door, which was opened; he saw himself in a room—stone walls, bare, save for a slab in the middle, upon which was something wrapped in a sheet. He saw himself creeping toward the sheet and reaching forth a trembling hand. He saw himself turn back the sheet and bare the pretty face of Bill!

And now he was no longer a puppet in a picture. He was Joe with a heart so sore he could not even weep. Had it not been for the gash across her forehead, he could almost have thought she smiled. The little brown freckles across her tilted nose looked browner than ever against the pallor of her skin.

Joe looked around furtively. His hand stole into his pocket where he felt something cold and hard. Stealthily he clutched it, drew it out and opened the largest blade. Then he let it fall clattering to the floor. He remembered. He had sworn on his knees to pay the doctor. He could not kill himself. He must go back to his job and pay his bills.

The undertaker seemed to rise from nowhere. He stooped, picked up the knife, and gently slid it into his own pocket. He rubbed his hands together and spoke in a silky voice.

"We'd better go now and pick a coffin," he purred.

A new horror clutched Joe. "I haven't got any money—" he began.

"Dear, dear, how unfortunate," sympathized the undertaker, "But do not fret, my friend. We have board ones for that kind."

"I don't want a board one," Joe whispered, "I want it white—pure white—white silk."

"Dear, dear, but the money. I must be paid in advance."

"Give me time, and I'll pay you. I'll work," Joe said.

"Impossible. I assure you, board ones are entirely satisfactory. You must use a board one. And flowers? Can we afford a few flowers?"

"Yes," said Joe desperately, his hand seeking the folded bill—the doctor's money. "She's going to have lots of flowers. I'll go get them."

He went out and found a florist's shop. He looked long in the window, trying to make up his mind what he should buy. He finally decided upon violets and white carnations. Bill liked sweet smelling flowers best.

He ordered ten dollar's worth, then reached in his pocket for the money. It was not in the pocket where he had tucked it away. He turned the pocket inside out to be sure. Then all his other pockets. It was not there. It was gone. Lost. Dropped perhaps, when he had taken out his knife.

"Will you trust me for the flowers?" he said.

The florist did not answer for a full minute. Then he said, "What do you think I am?" and turned his back.

Head bowed, Joe retraced his steps. Suddenly he smelled something—an enchanting odor, just above him. Apple blossoms! Great branches of them! How Bill loved apple blossoms!

He looked up the road and down the road, but saw no one. He vaulted over the fence and climbed the tree, to the topmost branches where the blossoms were thick. He broke them off lavishly.

He heard a shout. Across the garden a man was running, gesticulating fiercely. He was a little man in huge tortoise shell glasses with brown lenses. My God! The doctor!

Now what? Well, Bill should have her flowers! That's what!

Grasping the flowers firmly, he jumped. And fell.

He cursed wildly. Damn it! Why should he always fall?

He tried to rise to his feet, tried to reach for the apple blossoms that were scattered all around, but his head swam so he could not. A cool breeze fanned his face, and something splashed upon it. Was it raining? The drops were hot. Even the sky was against him.

He heard a man's voice as if miles away. "He's coming round all right. Just a bump on the head."

Then a woman's voice. "Joe!"

Joe lay very still. Gosh! Was he dead? And had the preacher's got the right dope after all?

"Bill!" he whispered faintly.

"Oh kid! I thought you'd never come to!" The splashes fell like hot rain upon his face.

"Is this heaven?" he asked feebly.

"Heaven!"

"Are'n't you dead?"

"No I'm not hurt the teeniest little bit. Nobody's hurt but you—not even Mike. But you got an awful bump, Joe. Feel the lump on your head."

"If we'd been going fast, somebody might have been killed," one of the dim figures around him interposed. "We broke your lights and smashed the fender, but we'll pay for it of course."

Joe rubbed his hand up and down Bill's body and across her forehead. He stroked her warm healthy flesh with returning confidence.

"What day was it?"

"What day was what, kiddie?"

"The day I was hurt."

"Why, tonight! Just now!"

Joe sat up dizzily and looked at his watch.

It was eight thirty!

Bill had told him the time at eight twenty-five. Five minutes ago.

Five minutes!

Joe laid down again and asked for a drink.

The Trouble With The Socialist Party

AS an agency in diffusing the philosophy of Socialism throughout society, the Socialist party has been a brilliant success. As a theory, Socialism has been made popular by the Socialist party. But this work is done, and the urgent need is for an active, potent, virile, agency to carry the theory into practice, and make Socialism a real force in politics and industry. Whether or not the Socialist party is to become this agency depends upon the ability of the organization to adapt itself to new requirements. If it persists in being inflexible, if it persists in becoming a narrow creed based on what some patron saint thought, said, or wrote several years ago, its usefulness will soon become that of a historic relic, a fossilized effect of a past evolutionary period.

There is absolutely no doubt that Socialism, like all forces of evolution, has power to secure those ways and means necessary to accomplish its ends; but the rapidity of its forward movement in the immediate future depends upon whether the Socialist party is to become an obstruction clinging to the past, or an organization that can move forward, both revolutionary and efficient.

It is absolutely impossible for the Socialist party to carry on the work before it without more funds. More funds can

only be secured by raising the membership dues. And even with more funds, if administration is to continue as ununified, scattered, and inefficient as it is today, the increased income will be wasted as easily as the present income is wasted, as far as accomplishing effective results are concerned. If the membership dues were raised to ten dollars per year the cost to the average Socialist would be no greater than at present, for most every Socialist gives as much or more than this each year to be spent inefficiently and ineffectually.

The Socialist party must adopt a radical change in its relation toward the labor movement, for no Socialist organization can longer prosper unless it is organized both politically and industrially. It had as well be admitted first as last that there is little common ground for a labor movement that recognizes the profit system as a legitimate social institution and the Socialist party that professes to abhor that system and is determined to destroy it. There must be a labor organization within the Socialist party, for, unless the party is able to champion the cause of the revolutionary working class both on the political and the industrial field, it can not carry out the historic mission of socialism and must relegate itself to the past.

— H. A. MERRICK.

Two Poems

The Vagabond

I wander alone upon the earth.
I have no friend, no wife, no child to call my own.
Not a soul shares the rigors or the joys of my way.

And yet, I am but rarely sad,
Perhaps there is a little sadness in my days,
Like that which creeps into the days of Indian summer—
A sadness whimsical, transitory—
That casts transparent shadows
On gleaming colors and gay fancies
And quivers in the music of the sudden gusts of wind
That set the leaves to rustling down the footpaths
By slow rivers.

But for the most part I am glad.

And why not be glad!

Though I am scorned and outcast,
I am far more free
Than men who in the cities madly labor
On the treadwheel of the Money God,
Forever hoping to reach Freedom on the step above,
But forever finding it no nearer.
Their endless toil makes drab and their petty vices tarnish
The souls which should be radiant.
Their futile scorn but gives me courage to go on my way.

Yea, I am glad!

For days which men in cities spend in paying
For a Past that was a burden and saving
For a Future that may never come,
I spend in glorying in the Here and Now.
Though I am alone,
My loneliness gives me time
To joy in Life's evanescent glories,
Which the toil-driven in haste pass by
Or vainly dream on.

So, on sweet summer mornings,
When men, bound to the grinding wheels of Commerce,
Wake, unwilling, to the summons of the city,
Protesting, as they hear the clang of cars, the shriek of
whistles,
The dull, increasing roar of wagons on the pavement,
"Must we still go on!"
I drift from dream-free slumbers into a fresh new day,
And, as the morning wind moves softly
Through tall grasses and low-bending trees,
I listen tensely while the first faint stirrings of the Forest
World
Swell mightier and mightier into a song that sends up to the
sun the cry

"We're glad to live! So glad to live!"
And in the long days
When the city-bound bend limp and joyless over galling
tasks,
That cramp their muscles, dull their eyes and numb their
souls,
I trudge far down my winding, luring road,
My muscles sinewy like the young green tree,
Head up before the friendly onslaughts of the winds.
And when those wonder-working winds,
That spread the pollen in the spring and the ripe seed in the
fall,
Sing to me their wild, exotic songs,
My soul, care-free and joyous, answers them,
As does the meadow lark.

Then, too, there are the nights.
When city men, searching for the day's lost joy
In dives and tawdry dance halls,
Drown their souls in uncouth, rakish clamors,
I watch the moon rise silently and gild the fog-haze on the
hills;
I watch the short, swift journeys of the shooting stars,
So like careers of humans mad for glory.
One moment they blaze forth meteoric, dazzling,
And then vanish,
Leaving but the question whence they come and whence they
go.
And pondering on that question,
Out there beneath the stern, blue vault of Heaven,
I seem almost to grasp the Infinite

Yea, but I am glad!

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

Immaturity

A gaffer scored a gay young boor:
"Young man," he carped, "You're immature!
A cub, a tadpole, just a sprout!
The way you prance and gag and spout
Is more than man can long endure.
Young sir, you're callow, immature!"

"Oh," cried the wag, "Now, you don't say!
That means I'm far from your decay.
Go on and rave! Maturity,
Old sire, is no decoy for me.
The ripe vine falls into decline;
The sprout has still to be a vine!

"I know if you but had your way,
For my red blood you'd give me whey,
And for my spontaneity,
Old dogmas tempered carefully.
Methuselah, I do abjure
Them all. Hurray, I'm immature!"

—ELEANOR WENTWORTH.

The Poetry of Ruth Le Prade

By David Bobspa

RUTH LE PRADE, one of the most promising of the younger group of Western writers, early espoused the cause of humanity. Her poetry is palpitant with life and love for all life. Passing through the weary way of crass materialism into a rich and beautiful life of spirituality, she has caught the vision of a democratic earth. Activity in the Socialist and Pacifist movements has brought her into prominence in the radical world. Her poetry was early recognized by Edwin Markham, who wrote a beautiful tribute to the young Los Angeles poet in his introduction to her book, "A Woman Free, and Other Poems."

Ruth began her literary career by contributions to the Socialist and labor press of California under the title of "In Passing." She is known by her Golden State comrades by the simple name of "Ruth."

"A Woman Free" is one of the finest pæons of liberated womanhood in current literature. It begins:

Oh I am a woman free! My song
Flows from my soul with pure and joyful strength.
I shall be heard thru all the noise of things—
A song of joy where songs of joy were not.
My sister singers, singing in the past,
Sang songs of melody but not of joy—
For woman's name was sorrow, and the slave
Is never joyful, tho he smiles.
I am a woman free. Too long
I was held a captive in the dust. Too long
My soul was surfeited with toil or ease
And rotted as the plaything of a slave.
I am a woman free at last
After the crumbling centuries of time.
Free to achieve and understand;
Free to become and live.

And, after reciting the story of woman's emancipation, the poem ends:

Oh I am free! My song
Flows from my soul with pure and joyful strength;
It shall be heard thru all the noise of things—
A song of joy where songs of joy were not.
Oh I am free! I thrill
With radiant life and gladness.
I advance towards all that waits for me.
I chant the song of freedom as I go.
My face is toward the sun,
My soul is toward the light,
My feet are turned toward all that waits for me.
I advance! I advance!
Let ignorance and Tyranny
Tremble at sound of my song!

Ruth has ever been a devotee at the shrine of liberation, and one of her latest poems, published for the first time in "The Dead Line" is:

THE REBEL

If God is a tyrant—
Then shall I rebel against him;
I shall summon hosts of angels
To rebel against him;
I shall never rest
Until with Satan as my ally
I storm the gates of heaven—
And overthrow Him!

It is with a different vision that Ruth turns to the beauties of nature, when her heart swells with such songs as:

THE PURPLE WISTERIA

The purple wisteria grows upward, seeking the stars,
Sweet is its perfume, strangely sweet;
And silver are its leaves, fairy leaves.

I walk in the moonlight near the purple wisteria which grows
upward, towards the stars.
I walk in the moonlight near the strange, sweet flower that I
love so.

Oh the mystery of the night is in my blood!
And the charm of the moonlight is in my heart!
And the fragrance of the flower thrills thru my soul!
Oh I am mad with strange and passionate joy!

Flower that I love so, flower that grows upward, seeking the stars;
Flower with strange, sweet perfume and the silver fairy leaves;
Why do you thrill me with such strange and passionate joy?
Why do you madden me with ecstasy divine:

Flower that I love so, your beauty vibrates thru my soul forever—
Oh help me upward, for I, too, am seeking the stars!

Like a benediction from the Man of Galilee, reads:

WE CANNOT MOUNT ALONE

Oh I would mount to the bright stars;
I would be joyful always;
I would be pure and full of strength;
But alas, I cannot—

For as long as one man is sorrowful and broken
I, too, am sorrowful and broken.
As long as one woman is surrounded with vileness
I, too, am surrounded with vileness;
And as long as one soul is weak
I, too, am weak.

No bird falls to the earth with broken wings;
No lily's lovely whiteness turns to brown
But I, too, am affected.
And as long as one small child sobs in the night
My heart will answer, sobbing too.

The stars are bright, tho they are far away.
I cannot mount to them alone,
Nor would I if I could.
I am no nearer to them than the level of the lowest man.
I can but lift myself by raising him.

Humanity is one, we cannot rise apart;
And joy, that strange, sweet thing which all men seek,
Is never found by those who seek alone.

The stars are bright tho they are far away.
We cannot climb towards them apart.
Oh let us wake, thrilled with radiant love,
And mount forever upward, hand in hand!

A strange cry of vividity we discover in the opening lines of "Because Your Beauty Is":

Darkness, Earthquake and Storm,
And I in the ruins alone,
With my crumbling heart at my feet.
Then the luminous whiteness of your soul shone down upon me;
And I lifted my face, unto your love—
A love which folds all creatures to your breast,
The love of Socrates and Christ;
Understanding all,
Forgiving all,
Hoping all—
And I was glad
Because your beauty is!

Ruth is young in years of this life, but an old soul, universal in her loves and passions. She has lived such messages as:

I have loved winds that wander, tossing trees, tossing the
silver leaves;
Touching my body softly or with rude strength;
Blowing thru my hair; saluting me and passing on.

I have loved flowers that blow;
Silver lilies, purple poppies, orange flowers, honeysuckles,
pansies, lilacs, geraniums, violets.
I have loved the contact of grass, and of the trees;
Of the brown earth, pregnant with promise.

* * *

Because I have clasped hands with nature I can clasp hands
more knowingly with man.
Oh I have thrilled with all his strange and passionate joy;
And I have wept with all his sorrows.
I have loved him in his beauty and his strength;
I have loved him in his struggle and his pain.
I have loved him to the heights and depths—
And I have understood.

Oh more than everything have I loved man.
I have loved man more than God—
For man is God made manifest.

The same theme shines recurrent in:

I AM A WOMAN AND I LOVE

Amid the darkness and the doubt
I kneel and do not know.
Around me the wild dust
Of un forgotten dreams is blown;
And in my ears the sound of tortured souls.

Amid the horrors of the dark
I kneel and do not know.
I do not know, I do not know,
There is not anything I know—
Except—

I am a woman and I love;
I am a woman and I love—
Not one man only, but all men;
Not one child only, but all children;
And not one nation only, but the world.

And what a rapturous little stanza this:

Dost thou know where the fairies live?
The fairies live in the lilies white,
And in the silver soft moonlight;
The fairies live in mad delight
Within my heart—tonight.

In past incarnations the soul of Ruth has known the white
heat of passion, else how were such lines as:

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO LOVE TOO MUCH

If I had loved you less,
I might have been a happy woman,
So they say.

If I had loved less,
If I had not ventured all—and lost.
If I had not hurled defiance
At the cold respectability of man
And faced the censure of a world.

But, dear, I could not love you less.
You came into my life
Like a song when all was still,
Like a bird where birds were not,
Like a bright star in a black, black night.

I could not love you less;
I would not give the wild, strange sweetness of your kiss,
The sound of your dear voice saying, "I love you!"
For everything the world could yield.

If I had loved you less,
I might have held you longer.
But, dear, I would not breathe one word of blame.
Whatever you have done, I know
That for a while you loved me.

We few sad souls who stray with Love
Out of the cage where men have bid us sing,
Have learned some things while we were 'mid the stars.

And tho the race, its false conventions spurned,
Would cry us down into the depths of hell,
We rise triumphant, hurling our glad words
Across eternity—
The stars know they are true!

There is no price too great to pay for love.
It is not possible to love too much!

For the pedanticism of the ages Ruth has her fling:

Oh these exalters of reason, of the cold intellect;
These worshippers at the tombs of the dead;
These men of petty vision and of rules!
With dead languages, dead philosophies, dead thots.
They shut themselves from the sunlight,
And demand that others do likewise.

They are but ghouls
Feasting on the dead.

Ruth would weld the heart of humanity into a perfect
unity, and her faith visions through triumph of

SOLIDARITY

In the long night a word was spoken;
And when the Masters heard it—
They who feed on children's blood and women's flesh—
They hid their faces from the stars and cried:
"It must not be!"

In the long night a word was spoken;
And when the workers heard it—
They who build the world with strength and fearful pain—
They turned their faces towards the stars and cried:
"It shall be so!"

In the long night a word was spoken;
A single word—yet empires fell and systems turned to dust.
And thru the lessening gloom a white bird rose,
Singing a hymn unto the dawn.

And still another gem of different type:

Forget? Forget!
Perhaps when the stars have crumbled
And the dust of the worlds blow wild
I will forget.

Perhaps when my tortured soul
Has risen from its last cross
I will forget.

Forget? Forget!
Yes, I will forget
When you have forgotten.

From Ruth's manuscripts I select; almost at random, this
unpublished poem, written a few days ago, and unchristened:

Do not ask for my love
I have locked the door of my heart,
I have thrown away the key.

It is useless to ask for my love,
I have locked the door of my heart;
I have thrown away the key.

But who is this who comes striding over the earth?
And what is it he holds in his hand?—
Oh, now I tremble and am afraid!

Ruth is not an imitator. She possesses originality and in
the few years that I have known her, has grown in power,
and is expressing her message unhampered by conventionality.
She does, however, belong to that school of poets represented
by the greatest of all American singers, the Good Gray Poet.
It is appropriate to close this little visit to Ruth's Los An-
geles home with her tribute

TO WALT WHITMAN

Dear Father, you called for those who were to justify you.
Behold they appear!
With a loud shout they announce themselves.

The Impotence of Direct Action

By Alanson Sessions

LESTER F. WARD, probably without a peer in the realm of sociology, has elaborated a celebrated theory entitled "The Indirect Method."

The gist of this theory is that all progress is made by adapting means to an end. Any advancement or improvement is accomplished by strategy and direct action is the very negation of strategy.

To illustrate: A huge stone is to be moved. The first impulse of the unthinking savage is to use "direct action" on the stone, and so he attacks it with his bare hands. The man of reason, however, employing strategy, adopts a policy of indirection action, and, securing a stick of timber, uses it as a lever. He thus moves the stone.

The latter method is doubtless a circumlocutory one, but its efficacy, compared with the former, is indubitable.

This great principle is applicable to movements of social reform. There are many reform organizations extant that come under the general classification of direct actionism. Among them are the prohibitionist parties, the associations campaigning for legislation abolishing sex vice, and others of a similar nature. While such legislation often accomplishes good, it rarely effects a fundamental solution of the evils which it seeks to remedy, and oftentimes it renders conditions far more complicated than they were previously.

The red light abatement laws in many states are flagrant examples. These laws were intended to abolish, to a greater or lesser extent, prostitution and its attendant evils. After several years, not only have these laws failed to do this, but the unlicensed and uninspected prostitutes, plying their trade clandestinely, have spread venereal disease until the situation has become deplorable.

The scientific way to deal with sex vice is to ascertain the CAUSES, which are largely social and economic, and then eradicate them.

This indirect method, true, is not so spectacular as the direct method, but it constitutes a fundamental remedy.

Prohibition will unquestionably accomplish some good. Among the beneficial results will be the absence of the corner saloon to constantly tempt the passing youth. Blind pigs

will abound, of course, but the uninitiated youth is not inclined to travel the devious pathways necessary in such a case to acquire the liquor habit.

Outside of this, however, little good will result. Our direct action friends, the prohibitionists, fail to consider the underlying cause of inebriety. They naively suppose that the only reason that men imbibe injurious beverages is because those drinks exist. And, of course, proceeding upon this hypothesis, its corollary follows, namely, that the way to abolish intemperance is to banish alcohol.

This entire line of reasoning is fallacious and superficial. The man who craves the intemperate use of alcohol is either abnormal or else he is surrounded by abnormal social and economic institutions. As the vast majority of men are congenitally normal, it follows that social and economic conditions are largely responsible for the appalling amount of intoxicants consumed in this country annually.

The number of economic and social causes of inebriety are legion, and an enumeration of all of them would require the space in a good-sized book. But we can safely say that most of them come under the general head of POVERTY.

Francis Willard, one of the noblest women of our century, and an indefatigable worker in the cause of temperance, in an address shortly before she died, said: "For twenty-five years, I have said that intemperance was the cause of poverty. I now say, after twenty-five years' experience, that POVERTY IS THE CAUSE OF INTEMPERANCE."

Chester H. Rowell, editor of the Fresno "Morning Republican," a man of broad social outlook and of astounding erudition, has the following to say concerning the drink problem, "Most men, if they cannot get liquor, will be sober most of the time. Most men, if they can get liquor, will be drunk most of the time. It is those whose lives are barren and monotonous and whose lives lack resource and initiative, who normally need outside coercion to protect them from drink."

Here is a candid admission by a non-Socialist that the sanest method of abolishing a great portion of drunkenness is to surround men with decent living conditions.

Prohibition, unless accompanied by a program materially ameliorating the working and living conditions of men and women, can accomplish little. Much praise has been heaped upon the ex-Czar of Russia for prohibiting the consumption of the national drink, vodka, but recent reports have been verified that the miserable peasants, in their extremity, have resorted to the use of various poisonous concoctions that have caused the death of hundreds.

This is eloquent proof that the causes that make for inebriety persist, unalleviated, even after the adoption of prohibition.

What the world needs is a sane economic and social arrangement of society. The soul-deadening poverty, financial worry and nerve-wracking economic uncertainty that characterize our present social system are almost entirely responsible for the liquor evils. When these evils have been abolished by an era of co-operation, laws, passed for the purpose of abolishing social maladjustments, will be universally considered utopian and unnecessary.

* * *

"I believe the Co-operative movement, by purifying and elevating commerce, will make it a nobler and worthier instrument for promoting the friendship of the world."—Sir Wilfrid Lawson.

Rough are they with the touch of the wind;
Magnetic with the touch of the sun;
And their voices are strong, beautiful.

But those who feared you and ran from you
Are equally frightened by them.
The past-worshippers, the mediocre, the feeble-souled, the tiny-minded, the scholars who feed on dead men's bones,—
All these are confused and recede.

They will have none of you nor your fearless brood.
They shut themselves in closed houses, fearing the wind;
The sunlight might fade their carpets; so they die.

Oh why did you ask to be justified?
To the understanding you are already justified;
And to the rest you can never be.

Does the earth need to be justified? or the sun?
Wise men once said the earth was flat.
The earth in its greatness was silent.
And if I, gazing at the sun,
Contend it gives no light—
I merely prove myself a fool.

The Future of the Socialist Party

By Ralph Korngold

THE editor has asked me to write my opinion about the future of the Socialist party. It is a bold undertaking in these bewildering days to write about the future of any existing thing. It seems as if destiny of late had taken a special pleasure in putting prophets to shame.

I have an acquaintance who is noted for diplomacy. When asked a question he generally replies, "Yess and no," and then proceeds to argue both possibilities. This is an excellent rule for a prophet to follow; and I shall confine my prophecies to what may happen if certain eventualities transpire, and to what may happen if they do not transpire. This will give me at least two chances of being proven not altogether wrong.

There has been a remarkable increase in the socialist vote since our participation in the war. The National office of the party gives out the following figures:

New York City: 1913, 32,000; 1917, 150,000.

Chicago: 1916, 16,000; 1917, 85,000.

Cleveland: 1915, 6,000; 1917, 27,000.

Dayton: 1916, 4,800; 1917, 12,000.

Toledo: 1915, 2,800; 1917, 14,903.

Rochester: 1916, 1,450; 1917, 8,200.

There has not been a corresponding increase in party membership. The National office announces that the membership has passed the 100,000 mark. This is an increase of about twenty to twenty-five percent since our entrance into the war; it is about 25,000 less than the highest level reached by the party.

Still one has to consider that many timid people are fearful to join the party at this time. They see visions of court-martials and lynching-bees if found in possession of a red card. This may explain the comparatively slight increase in membership. It no doubt does explain it to a considerable extent.

The election returns, superficially viewed, are very encouraging. I must confess that I do not view them with undiluted satisfaction. A part of the increase in our vote is due to the pacifists who vote the socialist ticket because their views on the war correspond with those of the socialists, and because they find in the Socialist party a rallying point and a means of protest. This increase in our vote is legitimate. There is a point of contact between the pacifist and the socialist. The pacifist's opposition to war is genuine. From mere sentimental opposition to war it is but a step to an understanding of the causes of war, and a conversion to socialism.

But what part of the increase in our vote is due to the support of genuine pacifism? How much of the pacifism in the United States is genuine?

The situation in this country is extremely complicated. Just before our entrance into the war I attended an immense pacifist meeting in the Coliseum in Chicago. At that meeting mention of Germany's submarine warfare was vigorously applauded by a not inconsiderable part of the audience!

No one can fail to observe that many of the so-called pacifists are German patriots and militarists whose opposition to war is limited to opposition of war against Germany. They would have applauded a war with England most heartily.

There is no question that thousands of these pro-German militarists and patriots have been voting the socialist ticket. These people are entirely out of sympathy with the socialist

movement. The reasons that lead them to vote the socialist ticket are the very opposite of the reasons that animate the sincere socialist or pacifist. **And it is a policy of short-sighted opportunism not to repudiate most emphatically this aid which is a reproach to us.** No lasting benefit can come to the Socialist party as a result of this silent acceptance of this militaristic aid. These reactionaries will desert us as soon as the war is over. They may desert us sooner if the militarists to whom they are in temporary opposition succeed in frightening them sufficiently.

o o o

Certain causes will operate to decrease our vote after, and even before the war.

The German militarists and patriots whose aid we have tacitly accepted will desert us. Let us speed their going.

There will grow up a deep resentment against the Socialist party among many people. A workingman may not have been enthusiastic about the war; he even may have been opposed to it; but having lost a son in the war he will put away all doubt about the justice of the war. To believe that his son had died in anything except a worthy cause would seem to him like a slur on his son's memory. He will feel a resentment amounting to hatred against a party that decries the justice of the war. It is a difficulty the socialists may have to contend with for many years after peace will have been declared. The greater the number of casualties to American soldiers the more ears of relatives and friends we may expect to find closed to us.

And yet this complicated situation presents another possibility.

If the war lasts a long time, with constantly increasing sacrifices on the part of the American people, and the hope of victory wanes, then the resentment of the people will turn against those responsible for the useless sacrifice. It will then be natural for the masses to turn to the socialists as the men whose counsel should have been heeded.

But even in the event of a complete victory by the allies, the Socialist party will have to be reckoned with.

Every great war has been followed by a period of industrial depression. This war can best be compared with the Napoleonic wars. Following the Napoleonic wars nearly every country in Europe was swept by revolution. Terrible unemployment in England gave birth to the Chartist movement. Germany, France, Spain, all had to make concessions to liberalism. The first International was a child of that period.

One would have to be blind indeed not to see that something very similar, though far more wide-spread and profound will follow in the wake of this war. Already labor in England and in France—though supporting the governments as a man out on the ocean in an open boat supports his companion in misery though that companion may be chiefly responsible for his plight—is speaking with a voice of defiance, and is hungering for the day of reckoning.

When the war industries no longer receive orders for war supplies; when millions of men returning home find that their patriotic employers, grown rich by the war, have no work for them; when wages and prices go tumbling; when breadlines of hitherto unknown length appear in the cities—then the people will awake from their intoxication. Fine phrases will then no longer suffice. You may get men to die cheer-

(Continued on Page 35)

Marriage and Free Love

By Marion Miller

EMMA GOLDMAN says that love does not necessarily have anything to do with marriage. But I think that it often may, and that marriage has a great deal to do with love. Let us not call marriage a complete failure because it often fails. One doesn't want to be called a complete fool because he does a few foolish things. One doesn't refuse all food because he can't eat cabbage. The fault is not, I say, in marriage, but in the uses the world has made of it.

As to men and women's marrying without proper acquaintance with one another, knowledge of life and sex—that is a different matter. But let us not condemn marriage for women because hitherto it has made her the slave and parasite of her husband. There are better possibilities in this institution, and it is for each couple to draw up its own agreements on the case. If they wish to stick to the spirit of the wedding ceremony, and the word, all right. But they can also refuse to do so.

To be sure, a girl should be instructed in sex life and her duties as a wife. That she isn't is not the fault of the marriage institution.

Also, if a woman wishes to "learn the mystery of sex without the sanction of marriage" that is a matter of her own. But I believe that this is wise, or, at least, desirable, for only a few women—women who indeed are "big enough" to understand fully themselves and their circumstances, and the consequences of their action. Nor do I agree that a woman's passion is her most intense craving in general; that lack of satiating this will undermine her health, stunt her vision, or break her spirit, as Emma Goldman says. Nor can I see that the glory of sex experience does the woman any permanent good. Perhaps it is pleasing—but does it make her life any broader or greater? Within limits, I mean. To be sure, she has the experience, and in that, may be superior to the virgin. But you get my argument. She may be broader minded after all this—but not unless she was narrow-minded before.

The sex passion, per se, was never created as a help, by Nature, it is only its result that benefits the race.

To be sure, love is free, in that it can not be bought. But once given, it will sacrifice. And it will endure marriage for the sake of home and children. In speaking of the love for children born out of wedlock having better care than others, of which Emma Goldman speaks, I wish to say that I do not believe that a woman, shunned by the world because she has an illegitimate child, will lavish all her love on it that she is denied the privilege of showing to others; and the extra pity for it she has because the world *does* revile it, will give more intensity to her love. But that is caused by the treatment of others, not herself. I think, too, that Miss Goldman confuses the issue. A woman may love a man enough to allow sex experience and even long for it, and yet not desire a child.

And it is, too, for the sake of the child and the home, that I condone marriage. A legal ceremony that will give the law a right to care for children, dispose of them if neglected, is necessary. I think divorces should be made easier.

A woman need not consider herself a parasite on a man if she helps make his home, and bears his children. Indeed, she does the biggest share. As long as economic conditions are as they are, "free love," used in its common sense, is impossible. And even if mothers were supported by the State, women would in small degree care for "free love"—

and I distinguish this from "free intercourse."

That is where Emma Goldman makes her big mistake. A man and a woman may have the greatest passionate attachment, without having any "love" for each other. That is why our marriages are so often failures. People mistake physical attraction for love. It would be utter folly for the couple whose only bond is passion, to marry. But for those whose attraction is both love and passion, if they are also wise, marriage will be a blessing.

The only way out is education—education that will teach us to distinguish between love and passion—education that will train the young in the sense of values between the two. Of course, doubtless some experience is necessary in this, but not necessarily sex experience. "Spooning" should be sufficient—or even a broad, theoretical training along that line.

And when we get this, I doubt if men and women will care for what is commonly understood as "free love." They may still care for "free passion," but I hold that the two are distinct.

Nature Cures

A book which it is no exaggeration to say that everybody should read and whose hints they should practice, is "Nature Cure" or "Philosophy and Practice Based on the Unity of Disease and Cure," by H. Lindlahr, M. D., a copy of which has recently been received by THE INTERNATIONALIST. That the work has met with great favor is evidenced by the fact that it is now in its eighth edition.

In a word, the book advocates natural living both as a prophylactic and a cure of disease. Answering the query, "What are the natural methods of living and of treatment?" it says:

"1. Return to nature by the regulation of eating, drinking, breathing, bathing, dressing, working, resting, thinking, the moral life, sexual and social activities, etc., on a normal and natural basis.

"2. Elementary remedies, such as water, air, light, earth cures, magnetism, electricity, etc.

"3. Chemical remedies, such as scientific food selection and combination, homeopathic medicines, simple herb extracts and the vito-chemical remedies.

"4. Mechanical remedies, such as corrective gymnastics, massage, magnetic treatment, osteopathic manipulation and when indicated, surgery.

"5. Mental and spiritual remedies, such as scientific religion, normal suggestion, constructive thought, the prayer of faith, etc."

Such a platform on which to base a system of therapeutics naturally appeals favorably to liberal, forward-looking people. An increasing number are coming to rely on natural methods, supplemented by generous doses of optimistic thinking and will power, and to these "Nature Cure" by Dr. Lindlahr will be an especially helpful volume, translating, as it does, an abstract principle into concrete rules, facts and advice.

"Nature Cure" should be in every home. It is a work which THE INTERNATIONALIST can unequivocally recommend. If its teachings were followed by human beings habitually, disease and the general run of human weaknesses would be pretty scarce articles.

It is published by the Nature Cure Publishing Co., 525 S. Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, and costs \$2.15.—E. D.

What Thinkers Think

Gems of Comment From Current Periodicals

—A world league, including Germany as a principal partner, will be a defensive league standing steadfast against the threat of a world imperialism, and watching and restraining with one common will the homicidal maniac in its midst.—H. G. Wells, "The New Republic."

—The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign government.—Woodrow Wilson, "Scientific American."

—To deny a man the right to his conscience is the highest form of treason to the American States.—Oswald Garrison Villard, "New York Evening Post."

—France and Great Britain are disappointed at the slowness with which the United States is bringing its war preparations to fruition.—"The Independent."

—An efficient kitchen should satisfy the eye as a picture in which every principle of practical art is made use of and every principle of efficiency that a factory manager might install is yet especially adapted to the varied operations of work in the home.—Mildred Maddocks, "Independent."

—It would be a piece of slave-raiding to take Alsace-Lorraine and give it to France without inquiring into the wishes of the people living in Alsace-Lorraine by a local test vote.—Steven T. Byington, "The Public."

—My experience in political reform work has taught me that business men, as a whole, are the most uninformed on affairs connected with the political and economic functions of their government. Leaders of organized labor as a rule are statesmen compared with them.—Theo. T. Thieme, "The Public."

—The coldness of a dog's nose is due to the fact that it must be kept moist all the time in order to sharpen his sense of smell.—Berwick "Advertiser."

—The treachery of the Allies in forsaking the Russian people itself warrants the Bolsheviks in making a separate peace.—Emma Goldman, "Mother Earth Bulletin."

—In short, all truth is inherently un-Christian, for Christianity—its theory—is a delusion. It is absolutely opposed to free scientific research, and as such should be kicked out of doors and forgotten.—Theodore Dreiser, "Call Magazine."

—Nietzsche himself must bear much of the blame for the current misunderstanding of him. His aphoristic style makes for exaggerated emphasis.—"The New Republic."

—In the Erie Canal there are 150,000 horsepower unused; in the Niagara river, there are probably a million unused.—Franklin K. Lane, "Review of Reviews."

—Today Pershing has an army in France at least twice as great as that army which Grant commanded when he set out for Richmond in the spring of 1864.—Frank H. Simonds, "Review of Reviews."

—If I had the power I would write three new articles into our national creed: (1) Universal military training; (2) the United States the first air power in the world; (3) a two-ocean battle-cruiser fleet.—Eminent Naval Authority in "Review of Reviews."

—The National Nonpartisan League, or some other organization embodying the ideas that are its basis, will control the United States.—John Thompson, "Review of Reviews."

—The Kaiser is what he is because the preachers are what they are; and the preachers are what they are because the professors of theology and philosophy and biblical exegesis sold themselves to the Kaiser.—Dr. Joseph Odell, "Current Opinion."

—Christ's words: "They that take by the sword shall perish by the sword," so often quoted by the pacifists are not a defense of pacifism but a plain justification of the taking of the sword against those who would use it in wars of aggression.—Abraham Mitrie Ribbany, "Current Opinion."

—The universal application of the Sinn Fein motto would mean the death of Ireland, for only the spirit of international altruism could prevent so small a nation from going under in the struggle for existence.—"The Independent."

—We revolutionary internationalists are more dangerous enemies of German reaction than all the governments of the Allies taken together.—Leon Trotsky, "The Class Struggle."

—That Gompers should betray labor into the clutches of American plutocracy is not surprising. He has always been a constant political lackey for Democratic politicians.—Adolph Germer, "The Class Struggle."

—Teach military discipline under compulsion to English schools, and in two generations you will have produced in England all that we have most detested and ridiculed in the German life and character.—"The London Nation."

—It is the easiest thing in the world to condemn a man to death while stuffing him with the fattest calories to be found in the grocery store.—Alfred W. McCann, "Physical Culture."

—South Carolina is the only State in the Union that altogether forbids divorce.—Gordon Reeves, "Physical Culture."

—Russia could not logically want to campaign with guns and rifles against Europe in the name of anti-monarchism and anti-capitalism, because by such action she would deny her revolution's origin and its fundamental principles.—Harold Lenine, "Labor Scrap Book."

—In the United States the money of account is increasing twenty times as fast as the volume of the basic gold.—Herman Cahn, "Labor Scrap Book."

—Recently it was made clear, through the publishing of state papers, that world financiers met at Berne last September to bring about peace. The reason they did so was their fear of the growth of the radical movement if the war went on.—Roger Babson, "Wall Street Report."

—God is now leading the armies of the Allies.—Billy Sunday, "The Independent."

—Under the guise of "making the world safe for democracy" and protecting the rights of smaller nations, Russia is about to be made the victim of the imperialists of the world.—Irvin E. Klein, "Call Magazine."

—A Russel Sage foundation investigation revealed the fact that in 78 cities examined, one half of the children leave school before they are 14, and half leave before completing the sixth grade.—Dr. John J. Kallen, "Call Magazine."

—Poverty and its attendant evils are due to inherent mental and physical defects, while infant mortality is fundamentally a problem of eugenics.—A. Ploetz, "Journal of Heredity."

—There were about 1,500,000 Armenians in the Turkish Empire in 1914, while at the present time there are perhaps 700,000, the remaining 800,000 having been exterminated.—Burton J. Hendrick, in "World's Work."

—In women the stirrings of the inferior nervous centers are not so firmly controlled by the supreme centers as in man. Hence, they are at once more suggestible and emotional.—Prof. E. A. Ross, "Critic and Guide."

—A patient ought not to read in the prone position—no one should; the retina is accustomed to receiving horizontal light rays, and a reclining angle develops new and painful angles.—L. E. Burbanks, "Critic and Guide."

—Mr. Garabed T. K. Giragossian claims to have discovered a way to utilize, without burning of fuel or other expenditure of labor or material, what he calls "free energy."—"Scientific American."

—Government bonds are reckoned so stable that they have always been desired as vehicles for safely handing on to his children a man's accumulations.—Edmond C. Converse, "The Independent."

—We are headed toward a food scarcity within a year compared to which the fuel scarcity of this winter can be called only a childish trifle.—Agnes C. Laut, "The New Republic."

—Germany's victories will never force the Entente to accept a peace of violence. If the Germans could take Calais and Paris, and even force France and Italy to capitulate, then there would remain the English safe in their island, and America, protected by the ocean.—Vienna "Arbeiter Zeitung."

—Drunkenness does not cause insanity, but both are symptoms of degeneracy.—Dr. Charles W. Burr, "Literary Digest."

BOOKS and READING

By David Bobspa

STOP DODDERING!

"Get well; stop doddering."

Very good advice to all classes of people. All things are possible to a healthy man. To the man weakened by poor health the simple acts of existence are a burden; the warfare for liberation can be carried on inefficiently at the best.

Comes Comrade James R. Nickum with an open sesame to health—of a magic wand that will advance the cause of radicalism by making its adherents an hundred fold more capable of carrying on the fight.

I know there are hundreds upon hundreds of health books; I have read many of them and have shelves full in my library. Some are good—many excellent. But Comrade Nickum has achieved what no health writer in America has heretofore accomplished. He has put in short space, at a price within the reach of all, a manual covering the entire field of getting well and keeping well.

More than this—here is a manual not only dealing with all phases of the most important question of life, but presenting the facts in a readily useable fashion. Fletcher wrote three books on proper mastication but only a few paragraphs at best on exercise; Sanford Bennett gives two most helpful volumes on exercise but merely mentions other health factors; Dr. Tyrell has mentioned other elements of health-seeking in his splendid treatise on hydrotherapy, but made the water cure too prominent a feature; MacFadden's encyclopedia covers the field pretty well, but it is so voluminous and profuse that few besides experts can readily use it to fullest advantage.

The task of James R. Nickum was to test all phases—Fletcherism, exercise, hydrotherapy, diet, mental control, etc.—put them into practice, and from his study and experience compile the only book in the English language that covers all of the field and that is readily available for use by all people.

James R. Nickum was weak physically from infancy—got a wrong start and couldn't catch up. At sixty he was partially paralyzed, given up as incurable by the physicians, and suffering greatly in all parts of his body. But this good socialist warrior wasn't ready to die. He has some good books on Socialism to get out of his system. He set to work to get well.

Stop doddering!

That was his first step. In three years he was a well man. As he sat in my study he pinched me with the hand that had been helpless with paralysis, and the grip was that of an athlete. The wrinkles have gone. The feet that had scarcely been able to shuffle about are today light and springy with the buoyancy of youth. Because the comrade quit doddering.

No miracle. Nothing impossible to at least ninety-nine percent of the human race if we are willing to spend half an hour or so daily in proper exercise, eat rationally and carry on a few simple rules. All of these rules are clearly set forth in Mr. Nickum's treatise, including full systems of exercises that will strengthen every muscle of the body. Everything is written in simple, non-technical style that any school boy can interpret and practice.

And listen, comrades. The poorest man in America can be healthy and with, say one-fourth of the working class increased 100 percent in health, strength and thinking ability, what strides would be possible! Health is fundamental. Whether you are a materialist or mystic, whether you favor political or direct action, whether you are old or young, your value to the working class is primarily measured by your brain power and physical condition.

For this reason, I consider James R. Nickum's book "Stop Doddering," the most important single message I have helped to bring to the attention of the working class of this country. I have the experience to consider myself an expert in dealing with this class of literature, and know what I am saying when I declare "Stop Doddering" the greatest and best health book, the most practical and, therefore, the most valuable, book on health ever written in America. It is pleasant to read, for the kindly spirit and gentle satire of Comrade Nickum lift the treatise into the realm of literature. Further, the author goes to the root of the question of physicians. He shows plainly that Socialism will solve the problem of the graft of the medical trust, as of other economic problems of the social life. Do not misunderstand—I do not infer that the fullness of life can ever be attained under capitalism—but the health can so be increased today that the progress towards liberation will be accelerated

at an unbelievable rate. Under Socialism, no amount of proper conditions will make you healthy unless you live in harmony with nature—and you will have no trouble in this if you will read and practice what Comrade Nickum so clearly sets forth. Isn't it worth while, comrades?

The book is being put out without profit, for the practical application of the Golden Rule. The life snatched from the grave is being devoted to furthering the cause of Humanism. (News Publishing Co., 118 East Market Street, Los Angeles. \$1).

* * *

LITERATURE AT DEMOCRATIC PRICES

All hail and long life to the Stratford 25c Universal library!

In the days characterized by unprecedented (and wholly unnecessary) high prices it is a welcome relief to find a lowering of the price of good books so great as to be almost revolutionary. In nearly every country of the world except America the best literature can be found everywhere at nominal prices—and the people read it. In this country practically all of the best of the world classics have been locked up in expensive volumes that kept the proletariat from enjoying the masters as they should.

But Henry E. Schnitkind isn't a profiteer. He has carried idealism into business—and has thus far made good. He established "The Stratford Journal," without a peer in this country in its field of international literature of first water, and it is firmly established in its second year. Some of the best of recent books have borne the Stratford imprint—and not one mediocre volume can be found in the lists of this house.

"Nine Humorous Tales" by Anton Chekhov is the first of the new Stratford 25c Universal Library. Russian literature with a laugh! Why, we almost thought there wasn't a laugh in all the land of the Bolsheviks. It is true we caught glimpses of it in Saltykov's "A Family of Noblemen" and in Fedor Sologub's short sketches. Dr. Schnitkind and Isaac Goldberg have presented to the English reading public some of the lighter side of Chekhov's versatile workmanship. Says the editor in the introduction:

"A Work of Art' and 'Vengeance' most closely resemble the type of story generally associated in the public mind with the name of O. Henry. The sad undercurrent of 'Her Gentleman Friend' is likewise not altogether foreign to our native writer. 'Who Was She?' perhaps, is the most Maupassant-like story in the collection, while 'Such Is Fame' strikes a note that is peculiar to the Russian himself. In stories like 'The Scandal Monger,' 'Carelessness,' and 'Overspiced,' Chekhov's humor seems to display a gentle humanity beneath the surface of action. . . . If Chekhov is more humanely self-revealing than de Maupassant, he is on the whole more deep than O. Henry. If O. Henry may be called the American Chekhov with a 'punch,' Chekhov may be equally termed the Russian O. Henry with a caress."

A unique feature of this Universal Library—prettily bound in board—is that the majority of the books in the collection are not reprints, but first editions, published for the first time in this country. Among the titles already announced are "Russian Tales of the Present War"; "Stories of the Steppe" by Gorky; "Short Stories" by Tolstoi; a volume of stories by Artzibashef; the best French Stories by Guy de Maupassant, Dumas, etc.; "The Best Short Stories of The World," by Boccaccio, Balzac, etc.; "Lazarus," by Andreyev.

And, say, comrades, the Stratford Company is open to suggestions as to books you think ought to be placed in this popular Universal Library that is coming to your door at the price of a popular magazine. (The Stratford Company, Boston. 25c per volume.)

* * *

LINCOLN PHIFER'S EXPANSION

Lincoln Phifer's paper-magazine, "The New World" is to leave Girard for more favorable quarters, but will still remain in Kansas. It is not definitely settled where the new headquarters will be, but Comrade Phifer has plans pretty well under way. I'll not make any announcements of further radical changes in his arrangements until he gets ready to do so himself—but you want to keep your eye turned towards Phifer. He has a big message. His plutocracy series rather got under the hide of the plutes. Phifer's new book, "Old Religions Made New," will soon be off the press.

Co-operation the World Over

Notes About the Chief Co-operatives Gleaned from Many Sources

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN GERMANY

The imminence of the social and political revolution in Germany is evident to the discerning in the great growth and present power of the German Co-operative movement with its program of industrial democracy. A recently received report by the Co-operative League of America, 2 West 13th st., New York City, from the Co-operative Distributive, Building and Savings Society, "Produktion" of Hamburg, Germany, shows that it has 7,000 members, a share capital of over \$442,500, an increase over last year of \$37,500. The retail turnover totals about \$3,011,600, an increase of \$1,229,500.

RETAILERS ALARMED AT GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE IDEA

A grocer's paper of San Francisco recently published an article expressing great alarm at the growth of co-operation. The article is financial assistance. There has already been pledged in subscriptions over one million dollars for the establishment of co-operative stores, and for propaganda educational activities. Thirty stores have been organized which are to carry all classes of merchandise to be supplied to members at prices which will eliminate middle profits.

"The aim of the promoters is to place stores in every county in North Dakota, and then to branch out beyond the state and cover as wide a territory as possible. As many stores as are necessary to supply the patrons will be established in each community, with all their requirements."

The article continues:

"The scheme of organization provides that no store shall be founded with a lesser membership than 200. The average is actually 300.

The agreement signed by those who accept membership sets forth very clearly how the company proposes to operate. On the basis of that agreement, a purchaser of a membership certificate pays \$100 to the company. The first \$10,000 so subscribed goes to the establishment of a store. The balance may be used by the said company, either to establish and maintain a central buying agency, or wholesale establishment, or to carry on educational work or propaganda along all lines deemed by the board of directors of the Consumers' United Stores Corporation to be in the interest of or beneficial to farmers, and for the assistance of farmers' organizations, such as relate to the economic, educational or political interests of the farmers, or both.

"Through the organization of this string of stores the Nonpartisan League leaders are hopeful of dominating the retail business of the states in which they operate. Following the stores comes the organizing of banks. A beginning already is evidenced by the success of the League in obtaining control of one bank in Fargo and another in Grand Forks.

The article gives further details of the plan of organization and states that within the year officers of the Consumers' League expect to have 75 stores in operation. Space is also given in the paper to a brief outline of the tremendous strength of co-operative institutions in European countries and states that the war, so far from weakening them, has actually added to their strength and growth.

In summing up its conception of co-operation as a present menace to private retail business, the Advocate states that "a number of leading business men have already suggested that the retailers should also combine and operate their own buying and selling agencies, in this manner achieving the position of being able to successfully compete with the co-operative stores."

This article is truly a fine, free statement of how the retailers actually fear co-operation when once it is firmly and efficiently established. The retailers know full well that at this time when the people are being taught to eliminate waste and unnecessary expense in the handling of goods from factory to consumer the private retailer is doomed to ultimate extinction. Co-operative distribution is right in the spirit of the times and now is the right moment for its active promotion. The louder the cry of the retail grocer's publication, the surer we may be that we are on the right way.

—R. P. BRUBAKER, in "Pacific Co-operator."

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

In Japan there are 5,000 co-operative societies, 2,000 of which are credit unions. These societies have a membership of over half a million. This represents a really remarkable movement toward Japanese economic emancipation, inasmuch as in 1900 there were but 17 societies.

COMMUNITY CO-OPERATION

It is quite evident to students of social problems that our local communities are not going to become completely democratic until the members of the community have learned how to co-operate and have let their knowledge form a habit. But to the co-operator it is clear that this amount of co-operation is not going to be brought about until the members of the community have learned to work together in their own and their mutual interest, with the comfortable assurance that not one of them is making profit out of any of the others. Until the community has this comfortable assurance, it is certain to divide itself up into groups of suspicious people, who would let their prejudice rise above their reason and make impossible a democratic handling of local problems of interest to the whole community.

The system of voluntary economic co-operation, illustrated by the co-operative store society, is well calculated to increase the spirit of co-operation in the community. It must not be forgotten, however, that the co-operative store is but a beginning in community co-operation, although it is fundamental. It would be highly valuable in itself even though it did not lead to other related forms of co-operation since it has the power to regulate prices throughout the whole community, and, in a large measure, to raise the quality of merchandise sold not only in the co-operative stores but in all other stores. But the co-operative store must grow and become more and more a department store, supplying most of the needs of its members; and as it becomes the economic center it will also evolve into the social center for its members, who are ever becoming a larger proportion of the community. Co-operative entertainments—including lectures, plays, moving pictures, library, games, and competitions, picnics and outings, serve to bring the members nearer together and make their lives happier and more worth while.

Every co-operative economic enterprise can give still other benefits to its members. Co-operative insurance is thoroughly practicable; a co-operative bank and loaning institution will be found highly beneficial in many ways; and co-operative housing will be a natural extension of the service of the store. Perhaps even before these things come about a co-operative flour mill and bakery will have proved a big saving.

Of course, many co-operative extensions will have to wait on the organization by co-operative stores of their big central wholesale, since it is probable that the wholesale will prove the most satisfactory means here, as it has abroad, of carrying on co-operative insurance, banking and manufacture.

But there is no reason why any community convinced of the value of economic co-operation should not extend the field of its working together almost unlimitedly; and where this community is so fortunate as to possess a newspaper which will aid them in this work, the possibilities of developing a useful, intelligent and happy citizenship are sufficient to enthuse every lover of social progress.

—SCOTT H. PERKY, Secretary Co-operative League of America.

OKLAHOMA CO-OPERATION

In Oklahoma there are at the present time over one hundred thriving co-operative organizations and that many new associations are either in process of formation or are just opening business. Co-operative stores are being organized at El Reno and Oklahoma City. At Chickasha and Shawnee co-operatives are running particularly successfully and are doing much to lower the cost of living. The Chickasha store is paying four percent a month on purchases.



SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE

ILLUSTRATED

By WINFIELD SCOTT HALL, M.D., Ph.D.

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Birth Control and Health

(Continued from Page 6)

of their liver, their teeth and eyes. The sub-normal boys and girls are quite a different matter. They should first of all be prevented from breeding, and they should be prevented being born in the future. They are born when parenthood is a crime, when on or both of the parents are unfit for that sacred function.

It is statistically proven that every time the population doubles, the feeble-minded quadruples. It stands to reason that at this state of our industrial evolution the workers cannot follow the "natural" law in breeding the good old sized family of from five to ten children. They have not the vitality. It is nothing less than barbaric and inhuman to keep the working women in ignorance on this subject. There is a great deal of talk about the injustice of the conscription of men for war, but for thousands of years the women have been conscripted for motherhood, where they suffer a thousand times more than any army on the battlefield ever suffered. Yet, most of our radical anti-conscriptionists are thoroughly in accord with the most conservative element when it comes to conscripting our working women for motherhood.

—CAROLINE NELSON.

Socialist Party Future

(Continued from Page 29)

fully when their stomachs are full; you cannot get them to live cheerfully when their stomachs are empty. The men who went abroad to fight for democracy will demand a practical demonstration of democracy at home. The only kind of democracy that proposes to fill hungry stomachs in peace time with anything else except charity soup is industrial democracy.

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Llano--A Soul Laboratory

(Continued from page 13)

the mainspring to his effort. Such men should not be classed as Socialists for they are merely those who have failed to individually gain benefits, and hopes through co-operation with others to secure them. They are socialists through expediency only. They are not to be trusted with power. It requires the laboratory of the colony to learn these things. I feel sure that right now many of the readers of this article are hotly repudiating this allegation and sincerely believe that each person wearing the Socialist label is the genuine Simon-pure article. But there is more counterfeiting of the Socialist principle than of any trade-marked article on the market.

One of the results of the Orton-Hungtown-Harquelin combine was the systematizing of attack on the colony. They are reported to have united with the Los Angeles Crimes. This is an influential organ and its stories are widely copied, as well as are the press stories it is able to send out. Therefore, the colony has been widely branded as a failure. The fact that it still goes serenely on does not prevent a frequent reiteration of its failure in the general press. We have been reading of it for four years now. Four years of continuous failure is quite a record. Many weak-kneed Socialist papers have also taken up the story, some gloatingly, some apologetically with explanations to show why the colony could not succeed.

But the colony goes serenely on.

Colony Development

(Continued from Page 11)

other wild fruits to give variety. In the fall there will be hickory nuts and in some places other nuts which may be stored away for winter.

The people of the nearby towns, those who visit us, and newly arrived colonists, are well pleased at the progress being made. The residents of the colony are being housed comfortably. They are working and achieving.

A great deal might be said about what we are going to do. But we are not saying much about the future plans except an outline of them, for if something happens to cause a change, we are placed in an awkward position. We might go ahead and tell more of what we hope to make of this town here, of how we expect to carry on our farming, of the plans for concentrating largely on one crop which promises to yield heavily and return good dividends with a minimum of labor. We could tell with convincing figures of what we will be able to do within another year, but if adverse weather conditions or something else that cannot be foreseen should intervene, we would have some difficult explaining to do, and there are many who would accuse us of misrepresenting.

When the saw mill and planing mill are set up and in operation, this fact will be recorded. But until that time, little will be said. Therefore, the story of colony development must remain only as interesting as facts justify and not as interesting as imagination and prophecy might make it.

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